The UNESCO COURIER

INTERVIEW WITH GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND

EPTEMBER 1990

THE MEDIA

WAYS TO FREEDOM

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encounters

We invite readers to send us photographs to be considered for publication in this feature. Your photo should show a painting, a sculpture, piece of architecture or any other subject which seems to be an example of cross-fertilization between cultures. Alternatively, you could send us pictures of two works from different cultural backgrounds in which you see some striking connection or resemblance. Please add a short caption to all photographs.

TIBET
1990, cloth on canvas
(132 cm x 182 cm)
by Françoise Zavaroni

''The Judaeo-Christian symbol of the apple is here formed out of a two-way rendering, in Tibetan script, of the word TIBET,'' writes the creator of this tapestry, Françoise Zavaroni, a regular reader of the *Unesco Courier.*

SEPTEMBER 1990

CONTENTS

11

THE MEDIA WAYS TO FREEDOM

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE JOURNALIST
by Jean Lacouture 12

THE PROTECTION OF SOURCES
by Patricia Wilhelm 16

PRIVATE LIFE AND THE PUBLIC EYE
by Jonathan Fenby 20

SENEGAL
THE PRICE OF A FREE PRESS
by Babacar Touré 24

THE PHILIPPINES
BETWEEN FREEDOM AND ANARCHY 27

USSR: THE THAW
CHERNOBYL BEFORE AND AFTER
by Vassil Plioutch 32

THE BURDEN OF FEAR
by Vitali Korotich 33

'WE LOOK INTO THE FUTURE WITH APPREHENSION AND HOPE'
by Ivan T. Frolov 33

EASTERN EUROPE
TURNING A NEW PAGE
by Karol Jakubowicz 34

UNESCO AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
by Morten Giersing 37

MEDIA EMPIRES:
A NECESSARY EVIL?
by Joseph Fitchett 38

4

Interview with
GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND

43

IN BRIEF... 43

DOCUMENT
A cultural battle
by Mario Vargas Llosa 44

SCIENCE
Rethinking scientific progress
by Marc Chapdelaine and Jacques Richardson 46

HERITAGE
A village in the hills
by Edouard Bailby 49

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR 50

Today there are no more unexplored continents, unknown seas or mysterious islands. But while we can overcome the physical barriers to exploration, the barriers of mutual ignorance between different peoples and cultures have in many cases still not been dismantled.

A modern Ulysses can voyage to the ends of the earth. But a different kind of Odyssey now beckons—an exploration of the world's many cultural landscapes, the ways of life of its different peoples and their outlook on the world in which they live.

It is such an Odyssey that the *Unesco Courier* proposes to its readers. Each month contributors of different nationalities provide from different cultural and professional standpoints an authoritative treatment of a theme of universal interest. The compass guiding this journey through the world's cultural landscapes is respect for human dignity.

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Photo P. Robert © Sygma.

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Gro Harlem Brundtland

Gro Harlem Brundtland, former prime minister of Norway, is internationally known as a dedicated champion of environmental quality. In 1983 she was invited to chair the World Commission on Environment and Development set up by the United Nations. The Commission's report, *Our Common Future*, was recognized as a document of major importance when it appeared in 1987. Here Ms. Brundtland talks frankly about her approach to current environmental issues.

Your name is linked with the concept of sustainable development. How would you define this concept?

– It is the central idea in the analysis contained in *Our Common Future*, the report produced for the United Nations by the independent World Commission on Environment and Development of which I was the chairman.

We defined sustainable development as a system of development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. We then asked what exactly are the needs of the present and gave our answers in different chapters of the report. We made an integrated analysis which incorporates all the different aspects of human life and is rooted in an awareness of interdependence between nations.

What is fundamentally at stake is the question of human rights—not only those of people today but also those of their children and grandchildren. Since our children and grandchildren cannot take care of their own destiny we must do so on their behalf. In the past it was possible for each generation to leave the future to its successors, who when the time came would be able to assume their own destiny, find their own solutions, use new natural resources, develop different technologies and skills, enable life to go on, and perhaps even improve the human condition. But in our century massive population growth has led to increased exploitation of natural resources. Furthermore, it has caused pollution on such a scale that the Earth's atmosphere is being affected to the detriment of our common future. It is now that we must take the decisions that will enable people to live through the twenty-first century. The challenge for our generation stems from two specific dangers, the nuclear arms race and the threat of pollution—two bombs: the nuclear bomb and the bomb resulting from our own pollution.

What can be done about these two dangers?

– The nation state is not an adequate institution for taking responsible policy decisions in this sphere. We need an international framework within which to take decisions on behalf

of ourselves and our children. The nation state has had its day as the decisive body in world affairs. This is how I see the situation. Once people lived in separate warring tribal communities. Then they gradually realized that they needed a system for assuming common responsibility and taking political decisions within national borders. The new factor today is that the nation state is no longer enough. Some traditional national authority must be surrendered. This does not mean undermining our ability as peoples of different nations to have a considerable influence on our own future; it means pooling some of that authority so that we can responsibly take care of common problems that individual nation states cannot take care of if they are acting alone.

How can this be done? Some agreements that have already been made regarding the environment are steps in this direction. One building block for an international system of law is that relating to the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), the man-made chemicals that are believed to be destroying the Earth's ozone layer. Many nations have agreed on the Montreal protocol, which aims to reduce and eventually eliminate the use of these chemicals.

But the atmosphere is not only threatened by CFCs;

...there are two specific dangers, the nuclear arms race and the threat of pollution. Two bombs: the nuclear bomb and the bomb resulting from our own pollution.

it is also threatened by the combustion of fossil fuels and the intensive use of non-renewable energy sources. At the same time the developing world will need increasing amounts of energy to provide for its economic and social development. This means that energy will have to be saved in the industrially developed countries. Agreements will have to be negotiated on the gradual reduction of the energy input in manufacturing and the service industries. This can be done by using new technologies and energy-saving techniques.

In many countries 50 per cent of current energy consumption could be economized, not by reducing economic growth but by reducing the energy content of that growth. We must aim for a type of economic growth which uses less energy and natural resources. And this can only be done by agreement. There must be sufficient information and pressure from public opinion so that nations will get together and take decisions on this issue.

The Brandt Commission imagined processes of this kind in relation to a new economic equilibrium between North and South. Its proposals did not lead to important concrete results. Do you think the world has become more mature since then?

– Yes I do. Not even the most unrealistic optimist today believes that we can go on polluting the air we have to breathe. We cannot just turn our backs on the problem of pollution and hope it will go away. The optimistic industrialist who once refused to believe that there were any problems involved in the use of nuclear energy will never be able to convince people that we can go on using more and more energy and polluting the atmosphere.

But even if this hypothetical industrialist accepts that the future of humanity should be taken into account, won't he say "my job is to make profits"?

– That's right. That is why the necessary political decisions have to be made by governments, not private industrialists. The market needs political direction. And governments are dependent on public opinion. If the argument for the future of humanity is convincing enough governments are bound to listen to it. In a sense there is no real choice; it's a question of how quickly and how broadly we tackle the problem. I have met no political leader who believes that we can continue "business as usual".

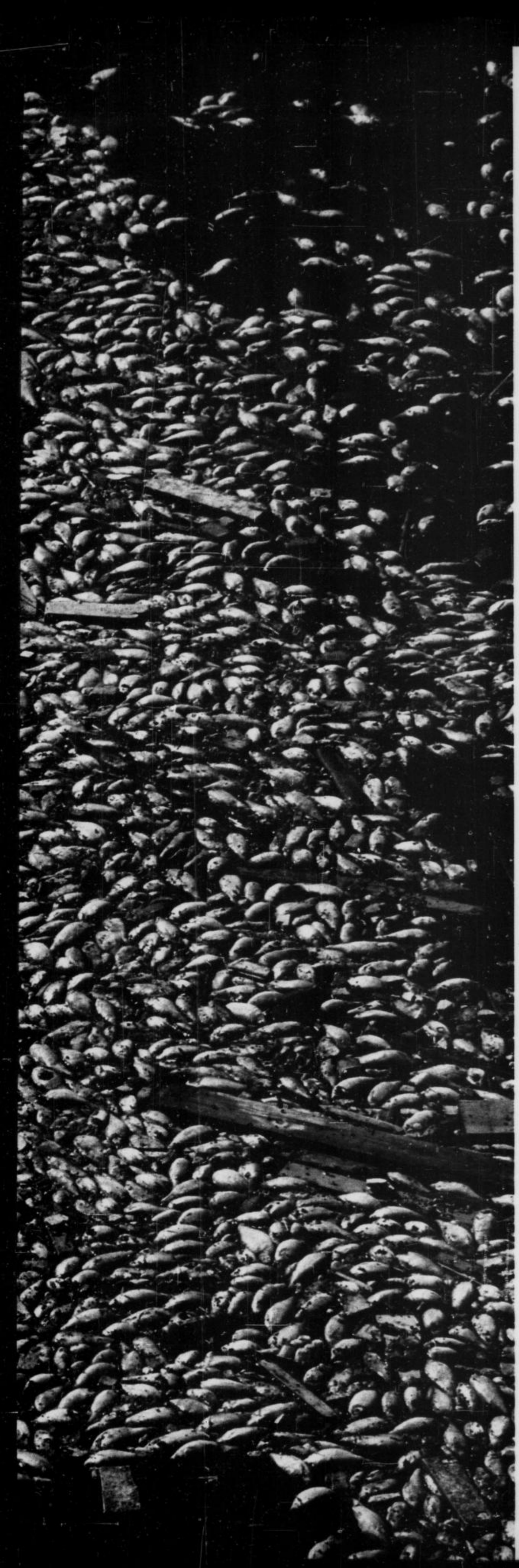
In March 1989 twenty-four government leaders attended a conference on the global atmosphere held at The Hague. The participants signed a declaration accepting common responsibility for our common future with regard to the atmosphere. The declaration said that changes in policies should be made through international co-operation and binding agreements, and that the rich countries should be willing to pay some of the costs of enabling the poorer countries to use new, cleaner technology and to avoid going through a period of using dirty technology such as the rich countries have known. If the developing countries are to reach agreement with the rich countries which have been polluting for fifty years, then the latter must give them some of the money and technology they need to avoid causing pollution and to provide for their future economic and social development.

It's a joint responsibility, and agreements will have to be made which include financial compensation. On the environment issue, I believe that pressure from public opinion in the richer countries today will be much stronger and more politically effective than it was when the call was a moral call saying "People are poor in the Third World. We should reach out and help them". I personally believe in that message, but it has not persuaded the rich countries to fulfil what is, actually, an obligation. On the contrary, in the 1980s most of the rich countries reduced their development aid to the Third World as a percentage of their Gross National Product. But if you say, look—not even the rich can escape from the changes in the atmosphere. If you want to save your lives and your children's future then you will have to make an effort. If you don't, people in the developing world will be increasing the use of energy and there will be increased pollution. There is no alternative but to accept political interdependence and make agreements.

To what extent did the meeting at The Hague succeed in this respect?

– At The Hague we made it clear that the institution that will have to be created to assume responsibility for the

Dead fish in the polluted river Seine (1976).



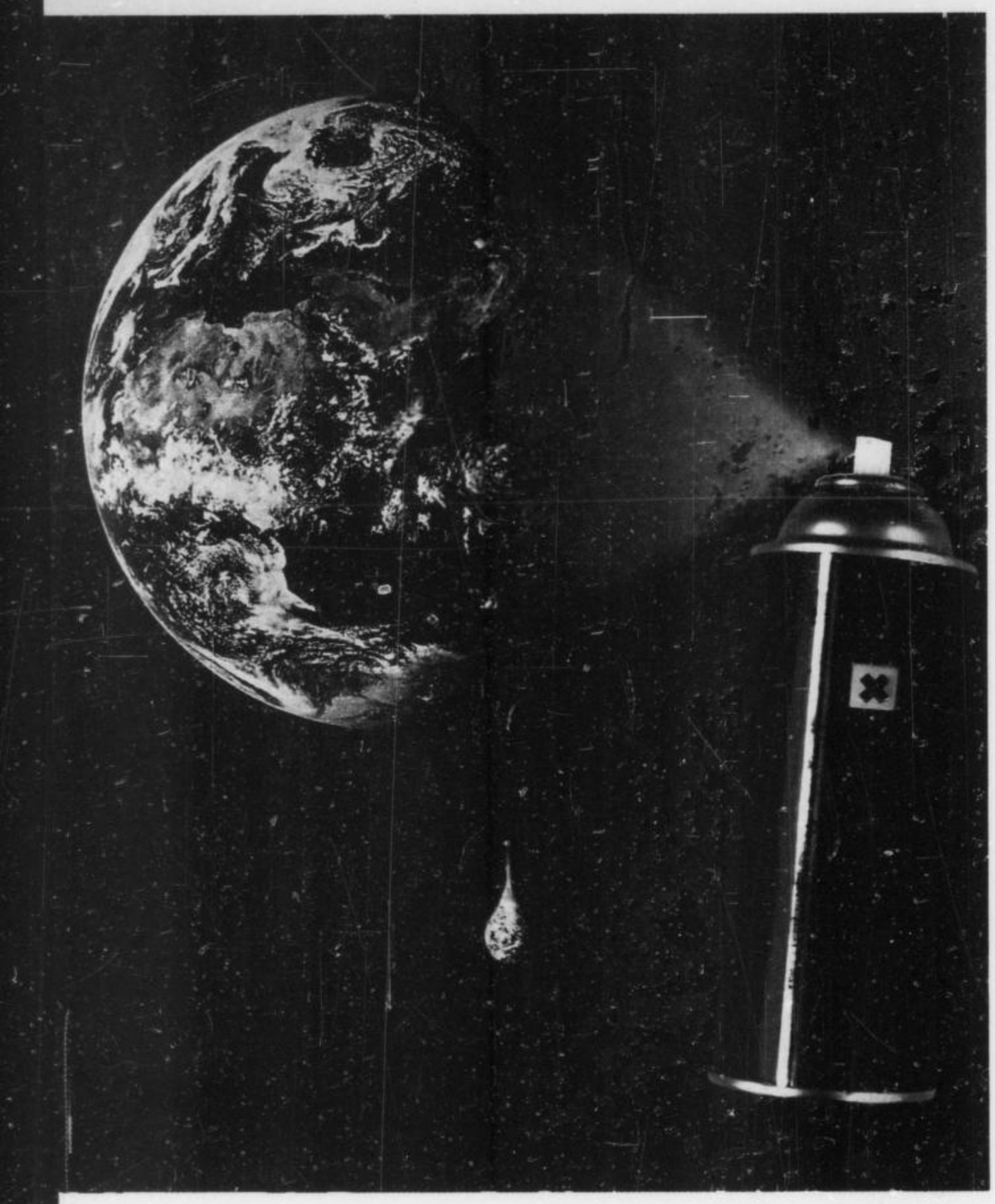
protection of the atmosphere needs to be given wide powers and that decisions also could be taken on a broad majority basis. Consensus is sometimes too slow.

Can you really envisage a situation in which an international authority will be able to prevail over a big country?
– Yes, I think so. At any rate I hope so. If a big country tries to go against a broad majority decision about what is necessary for the health of nations, for basic human values, then it seems to me clear that there are effective ways in which the world community can influence that nation. If there really is a decision that people all over the world seriously want to take, you cannot get away from it even if you are strong.

Different countries have different rules, and what one country considers dangerous another may not.
– That is true. And so we need a common authority to decide. Take the case of toxic wastes. You have to have someone who can advocate the generally held scientific view about the degree of danger involved. It's not enough to have each separate country defining its own position.

But even on critical issues such as the ozone layer we read authoritative articles which say different things. Some say that the situation is very dangerous or becoming dangerous, others that there is no danger at all. Even the scientists do not always agree.
– Yes, that's true. It's a natural result of the pluralism of scientific communities around the world. But if you bring together the best institutes and the best scientists from different parts of the globe and ask them to evaluate a situation, then you can find out what is generally accepted at the highest level. I came across this problem in Norway in the 1970s when a professor criticized the government for trying to combat acid rain and to reach agreement on the question of sulphur dioxide pollution. There was a generally held scientific view that acid rain was dangerous and that the trout and salmon dying in the acidified Norwegian lakes were only the first signs of a development that would very soon reach the forests and ruin nature. I was sure that this view was correct. I went very deeply into the scientific studies, and as a politician I felt convinced that I was doing the right thing. But this professor expressed his contrary viewpoint very clearly and published his views in the press time and again. It took a lot of time and trouble to fight him and pollution simultaneously! But ten years later his criticism subsided because the facts were then so obvious.

Do you think the United Nations system is the institution through which the necessary changes could come?
–I think we have built a United Nations system which is based on the kind of philosophy that I am advocating. The arguments for it have become stronger over the decades. In



the nineties, I believe the case for global co-operation is compelling. The United Nations has done a good job, but it has not matched the expectations of those who created it in 1945. I don't think we should try to build completely new institutions. We should remodel those that already exist, make them more integrated, and endow the United Nations family with greater authority and potential. But I do think that the United Nations system is too split up. There is not enough common thinking, and there is too much fragmentation into different sectors.

Do you think that in view of the current changes in the world it will be possible to stop the drive for industrialization regardless of the consequences? The East European countries, for instance, are not satisfied with their level of economic development and would like to industrialize more.

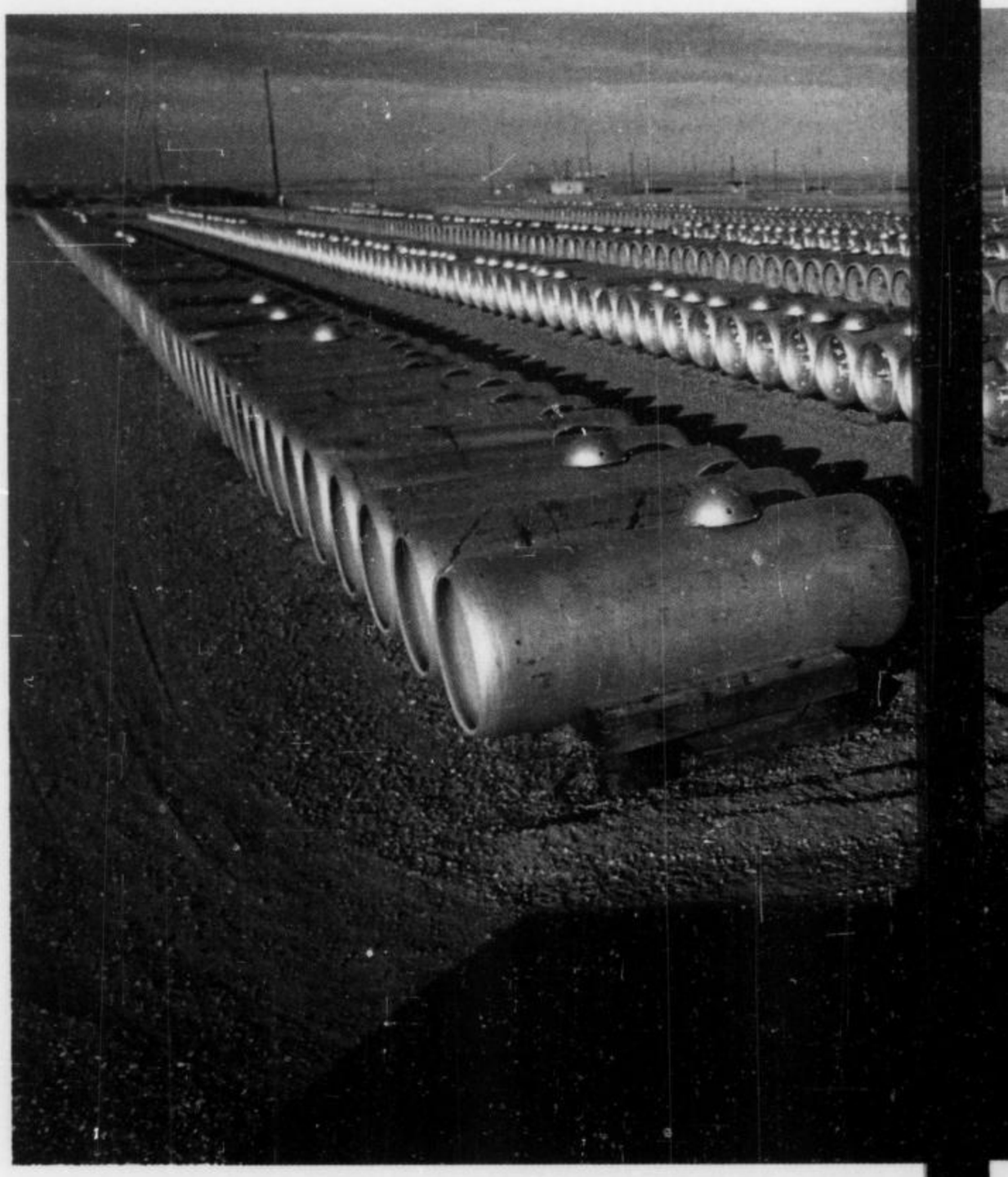
– It is perfectly possible to create sustainable development patterns in Eastern Europe by investing in the right types of industrial development. Investments can be made in Eastern Europe with the aim of cleaning up pollution and improving economic growth by developing new industries. I think this is what Western Europe should be doing– channelling investment resources to where they are most needed. The result would be increased economic growth in Europe as a whole.

What about the fear that Western Europe, the United States and Japan will now focus their attention on Eastern Europe and pay no more attention to Africa, Asia and Latin America?

– I understand that fear and it is felt in many parts of the developing world. First of all I think that Western Europe, the United States and Japan should step up their investment in the developing world. We can carry that burden. United States aid to Europe after the Second World War was many times higher than the current level of aid to the developing countries. Why on earth should it not be possible in the 1990s for the rich countries to double or triple the small fraction of their GNP which they devote to development aid? I think the environmental argument is the strongest one we have. And of course we have no time to lose. Investment on behalf of the future will boost economic growth and also improve the quality of life.

In Eastern Europe and the Third World there is a lingering feeling that "the West had its chance of industrializing without bothering about pollution, why not us? Let's do the same as they did, then we'll see what happens". We know this would be bad for everybody. Shouldn't this fascination with industrialization be directed towards new technologies, and probably new forms of development?

– That's true. With information and communications technology and other new technologies a high degree of decentralization is possible. You can have smaller firms employing



The rich countries, which have been polluting for fifty years, must give the developing countries some of the money and technology they need to avoid causing pollution and to provide for their future economic and social development.

Opposite, aerosols containing chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) are partly responsible for the destruction of the ozone layer. Below, stockpile of toxic gas in the United States.

fewer people engaged in non-polluting activities, in manufacturing and in the service sector, which do not have the negative effects of old-fashioned industrial growth. So by saving resources and using new technologies you can promote economic and social development with less negative side effects. These are hopeful trends.

A huge effort on the part of world opinion will be necessary. Do you think disarmament would liberate resources—minds, men, money—to make this transition easier? Are world decision-makers really thinking about this?

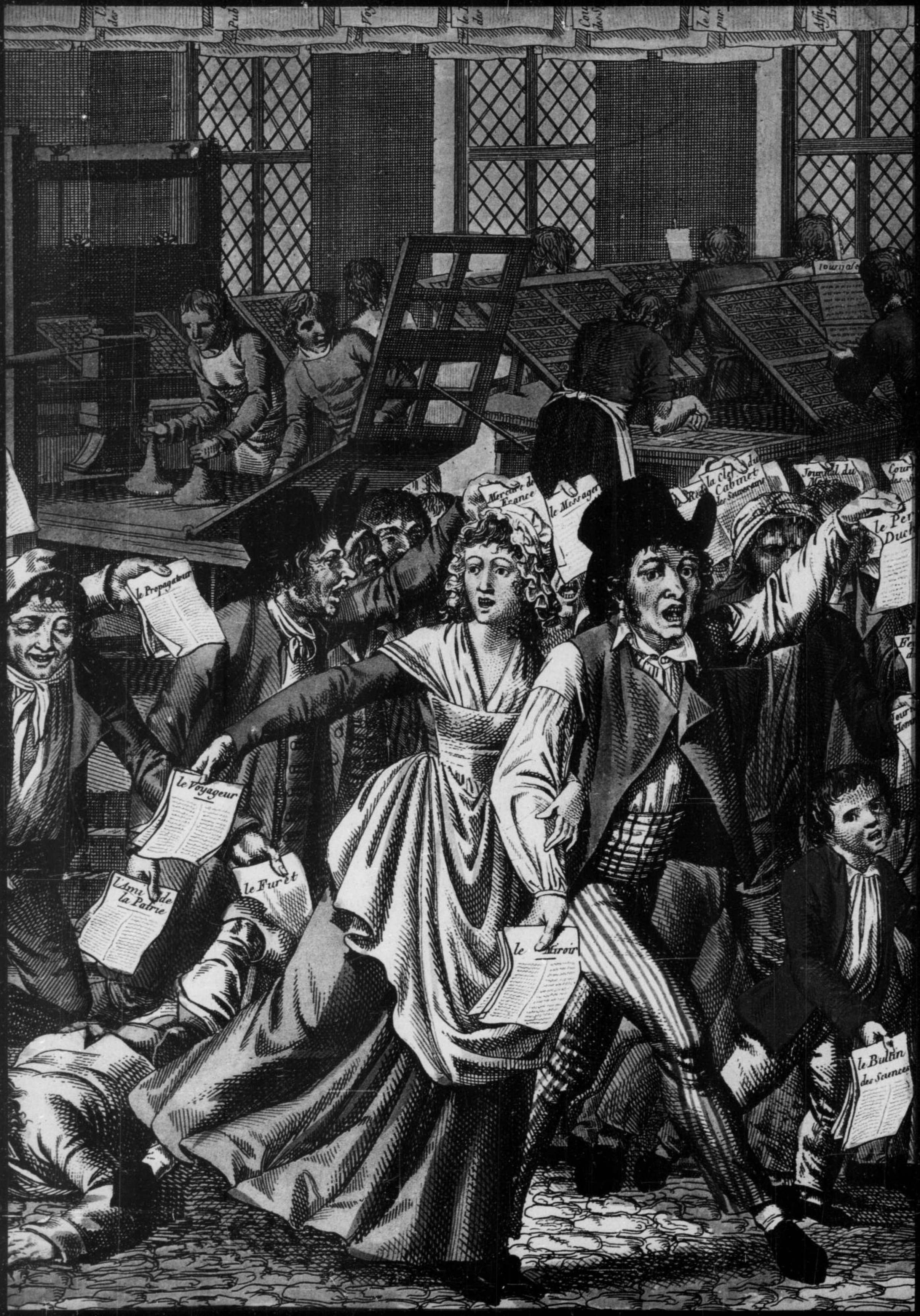
— I think they are. Already discussions are going on about this in almost all the West European countries and in the United States. They have signed treaties for reducing pollution in the coming decade which are going to be enormously expensive. And the only way to absorb these costs is to channel resources away from the military sector. This is why the 90s should be a time of great opportunities.

What part do you think culture can play in this process?

— The words we use are interesting. Once people talked only about development. Then they started talking about culture, the environment, human rights... These were words many countries did not like to hear twenty years ago. Today nobody can escape them. Sometimes one word comes into vogue, then another. I remember a time in my country when a big effort was being made to extend the impact of our cultural policies. Everyone seemed to be talking about culture. Culture became a catchword and whatever people were talking about it always seemed to come back to culture in the end. Then, when environmental issues came on the agenda, people started to use the word environment instead of the word culture. What both words really refer to are essential human values as defined outside the realm of pure economics. The two concepts obviously overlap when you examine them closely. So I think that today the word environment is one that catches people's attention and reaches over continents, but obviously culture is part of it and adds to it. The two concepts are interrelated.

You mean they cover the same thing?

— Not exactly, but there is often a tendency to broaden the definition of words. In Unesco, for example, there is a tendency to define culture so broadly that it encompasses almost all human activity. The World Health Organization does the same thing with the concept of health because when they look at people's health they find that so many other factors are connected with it. Education is obviously part of culture but without education you cannot take care of your own health. And without education and without health, people have no human rights and there can be no development. All these concepts are interrelated to the extent that they are rooted in human values and rights. ■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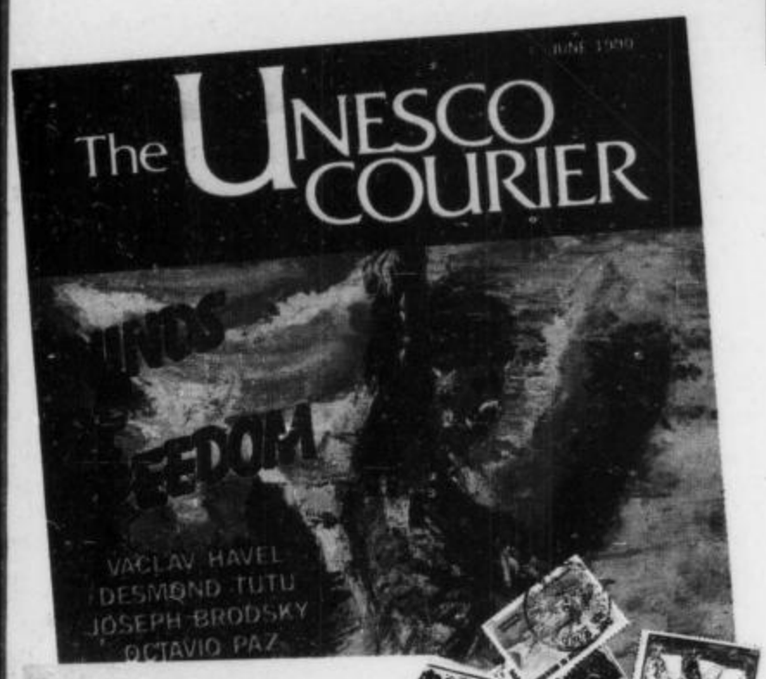

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EDITORIAL

UNTIL fairly recent times, knowledge was regarded in most societies as a privileged possession, an adjunct to the power of kings, priests and mandarins. It was transmitted confidentially from generation to generation by word of mouth or in jealously guarded esoteric texts which were only intelligible to initiates.

The story is told of a certain king of ancient Persia who passed sleepless nights when he learned that the ruler of a nearby Indian land had compiled a written anthology of tales that were said to enshrine all the wisdom of his people. The king ordered one of his most trusted counsellors to procure a copy of the anthology, whatever the cost. The counsellor devoted years of his life to the assignment. He infiltrated the court of the Indian ruler, gained his confidence, won over some of the courtiers and bribed others until finally he gained access to the precious manuscript and made a copy of it.

As a general rule, then, information was confined to the corridors of power. When it strayed beyond them it was because of some kind of breach in the system. Many legends glorify heroes who risked their lives in attempts to lay their hands on some mysterious formula or hidden truth. There were occasions when knowledge flowed outside narrow channels, spread through cities or even entire regions and stimulated open debate among philosophers and scholars—but such historical interludes were rare.

The circulation of knowledge has always been closely associated with intellectual emancipation and the democratization of public life. What is new is that the exceptional situation of yesterday has become today's general rule. The flow of information is responding to a need which is widely felt to be irresistible.

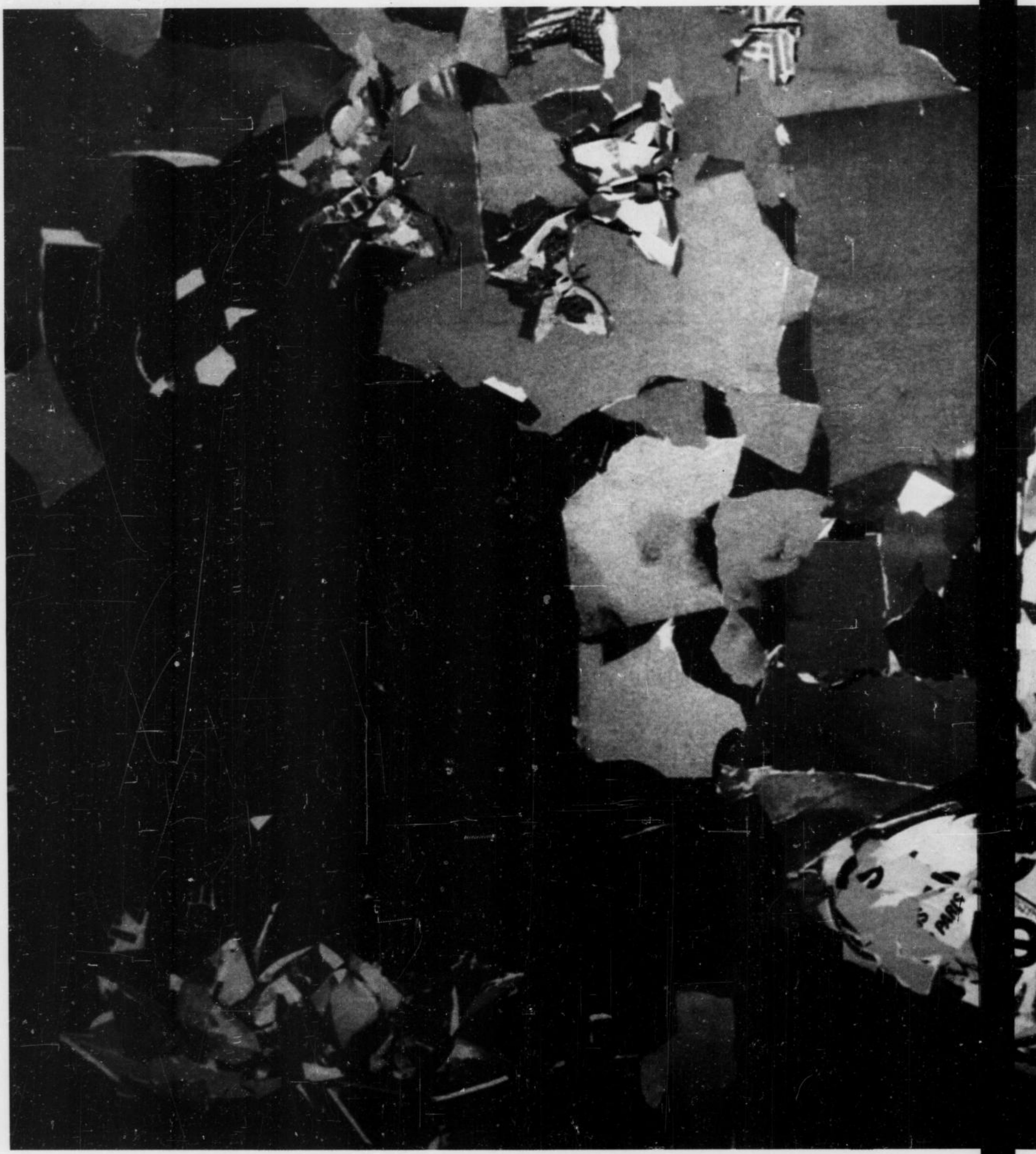
This does not mean that knowledge has ceased to be a source of power. It would be more accurate to say that scientific progress, the development of new communications technologies, universal demands for freedom, as well as the spread of literacy—which constantly increases the demand for information—are factors that encourage a trend towards openness and sharing. More and more information is reaching more and more people. And different forms of power, the power of economic, academic, political and military institutions, can only perpetuate themselves through the possession of increasingly specialized knowledge which today they are able to keep secret for a shorter and shorter time.

The flow of information is thus constantly widening the circle of citizens who are capable of making choices, as well as multiplying the choices they are called on to make. This complicates life for those who would like to make people's choices for them. The freedom to inform has become a categorical imperative. For these reasons Unesco, whose mission is to promote the freedom of information, attaches the highest priority to its obligation to support all efforts to multiply and expand the channels through which this freedom can express itself, and to resolve the inevitable dilemmas caused by its development.

***Freedom of the Press*, anonymous engraving, 1797.**

The conscience

by Jean Lacouture



of the journalist

OTHER occupations may have suffered more from the vitriolic pens of satirists, but, although media professionals seem to arouse less vengeful feelings of hostility among the general public than medical charlatans, vacuous military men or overbearing bankers, they nevertheless seem to be viewed with a mixture of disdain and suspicion.

Long before Guy de Maupassant's *Bel-Ami*, with its portrayal of the world of cynical journalists, the general public had scant esteem for this sorry crew which were accused, somewhat contradictorily, both of undue meddling in the affairs of their contemporaries and of more or less consciously, and with varying degrees of disinterest, conniving with the authorities. Recent opinion polls confirm that little has changed.

Can this be because, with each day that passes, journalists are more and more closely identified with the technology by means of which their voices are heard, to the extent that they end up by losing, in the eyes of the public, their human image? Or is it that the images, the tempo, the desire for instant reporting reduce everything to statistics and spectacle, to stop-watch timing and presentation? Of course not. Communicators were seen as the instruments of the society in which they operate long before the days of the tie-pin microphone or the portable camera. Few other occupations so fully absorb their practitioners as does journalism—to the point that André Malraux once wrote to a journalist whose autobiography he had just read: "How is it that you can have so little interest in yourself?"

Before becoming established as reporter on "Channel X" or leader writer for "The Hogsnorton Gazette", the journalist is the product of a specific social background, personal history and education—details of which will have been forgotten or discarded along the way. The journalist is a creature with a conscience that no press baron, no dominant ideology, no group complicity can ever completely suppress.

This creature is also prey to twin anxieties—that of the actor on the stage and that of the author whose words, thrown to the masses each

***Shadow and Flight* (1987), a collage by the Japanese artist Yamada.**

day, change their perceptions. It is difficult enough to live constantly in the public eye; it is even more difficult to live under the scrutiny of those whose perceptions one has changed, and in a way that is no longer evident either to oneself or to them.

It is against this "opaque transparency" that the journalist operates, a background which is just as likely to stimulate as to act as a cold douche on the ego and which creates a perverse and heady relationship between writer and reader that amazingly enough can last a lifetime, through war and peace, revelations and denials, sensation and derision.

That Sarah Bernhardt was able to continue acting in *Phèdre* or in *L'Aiglon* for half a century may come as a surprise, but not as a shock. However, that a famous commentator or newshound can address the same readership about events ranging from the battlefields of the Marne to the French generals' putsch in Algeria, without changing either outlook, opinions or even pen-name, gives some idea how thick-skinned some members of the writing profession can be.

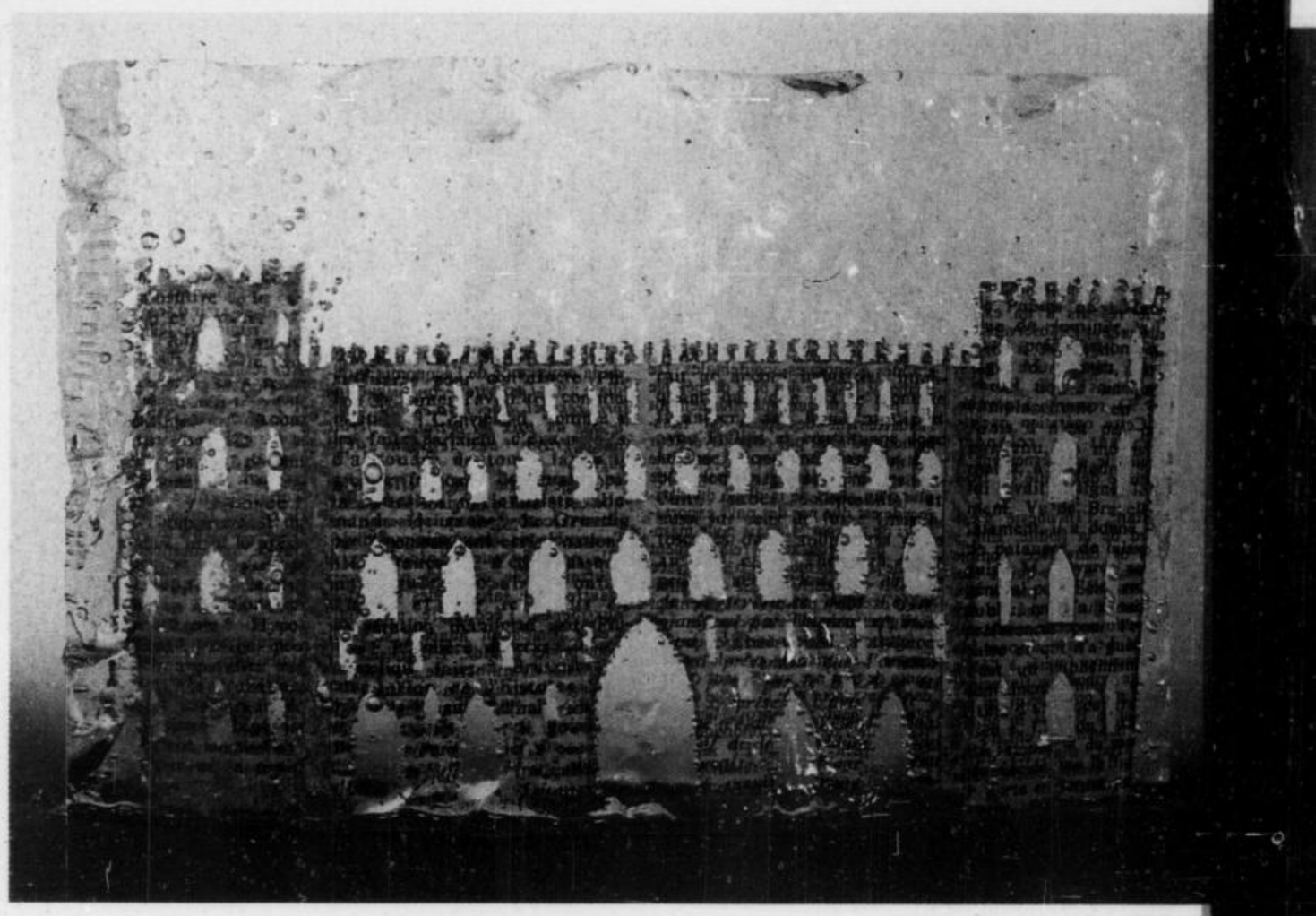
The Hiroshima holocaust

The journalist and the journalistic conscience are engaged in a bitter struggle on many fronts, the more so since the profession is ill-defined, subject to few rules and endowed with less precise ethical codes than many others.

It is true that, with the advance of science and the evolution of the law, the medical profession has been faced with ethical dilemmas and uncertainties, as borne out by scores of inquiries, testimonies and debates. Neither lawyers, nor research scientists with their biological engineering and their "ultimate weapons", nor the military men who use their weapons, have been spared such self-questioning. Nevertheless, they have their Hippocratic oath, their Bar Councils and the Geneva Conventions to fall back on. Journalists have no equivalent.

We might reasonably compare their situation to that of a guided missile, unaware both of the nature of its mission and of the purpose of the hand that guides it, and programmed in such a way that it is aimed neither at the earth, so as to avoid accidents, nor at the ocean, so as to avoid pollution. Given these restraints, journalists are free, responsible human beings who have only to do their best to enlighten their contemporaries about world events without triggering a second Hiroshima holocaust.

On the face of it, the objective is clear—like the witness in the box, to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. In a court of law, however, the jury demands only the truth as the witness, as a human being, saw and understood it, at a particular time, in a particular place and as it related to certain people. The truth required of a journalist is a wider, more complex, multi-faceted truth.



Returning from wartime deportation, Léon Blum, who was a journalist for many years, told his press colleagues that he had learned that the golden rule for the profession was not "just to tell the truth, which is an easy thing to do, but to tell the whole truth, which is much more difficult". This is all very well, but what is "the whole truth", and is it possible to define "nothing but the truth"?

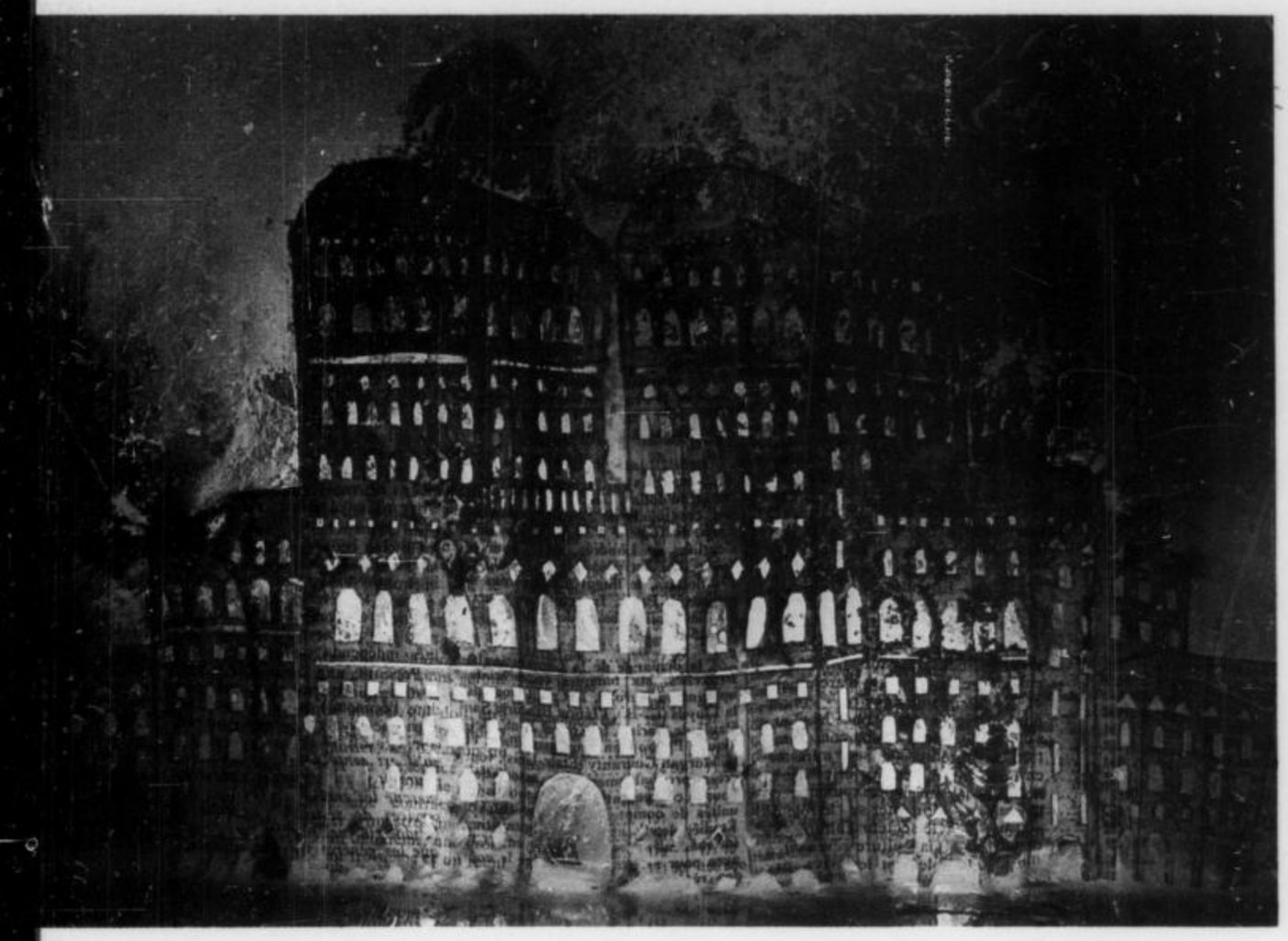
The December 1989 revolution in Romania brought this question to the forefront again in a vivid, violent fashion. We all know the extent to which "the truth", in its simplest, statistical form, was distorted. The heady excitement that misled almost all the international media was later subject to very close analysis—in particular by French writer Jean-Claude Guillebaud who praised the admirable restraint of the Belgian journalist Colette Braekman for her courage in writing the apparently self-condemnatory words, "I saw nothing happen at Timisoara".

"I saw nothing happen" does not, of course, mean "nothing happened". Yet this observation, which is anathema to any professional communicator, should be taught as a model in every school of journalism. For it is by this formula that the journalistic conscience must be guided—by the relationship between the truth and what has been seen, between what can be and what has been verified. This is both the antithesis of and synonymous with Blum's "the whole truth"—all that part of the truth that the individual journalist can discern.

The journalist's self-questioning is, however, not concerned only with the accessible part of the truth, but also with the means employed to acquire it and the use that can be made of it.

"Investigative journalism" is on the agenda, and it is now accepted that all methods of investigation are permitted. The handling of the Watergate affair by two outstanding journalists of the *Washington Post* seems to have justified a

JEAN LACOUTURE,
French writer and journalist, was foreign correspondent for the French daily *Le Monde* from 1957 to 1975. He is the author of major biographies of Léon Blum (1982), Pierre Mendès-France (1984), and Jean-François Champollion (1988; see the *Unesco Courier*, October 1989). Volume I of his 3-volume life of Charles de Gaulle has been published in English as *Charles de Gaulle: The Rebel* (Holmes and Meier, New York, 1988).



Above left, *Le Palais* (1983); above, *Palace* (1983), two photomontages by the French artist Patrick Tosani.
Below, a scene from *All the President's Men* (1976), Alan Pakula's film on Watergate in which Dustin Hoffman (centre) plays one of the investigative journalists who worked on the story.

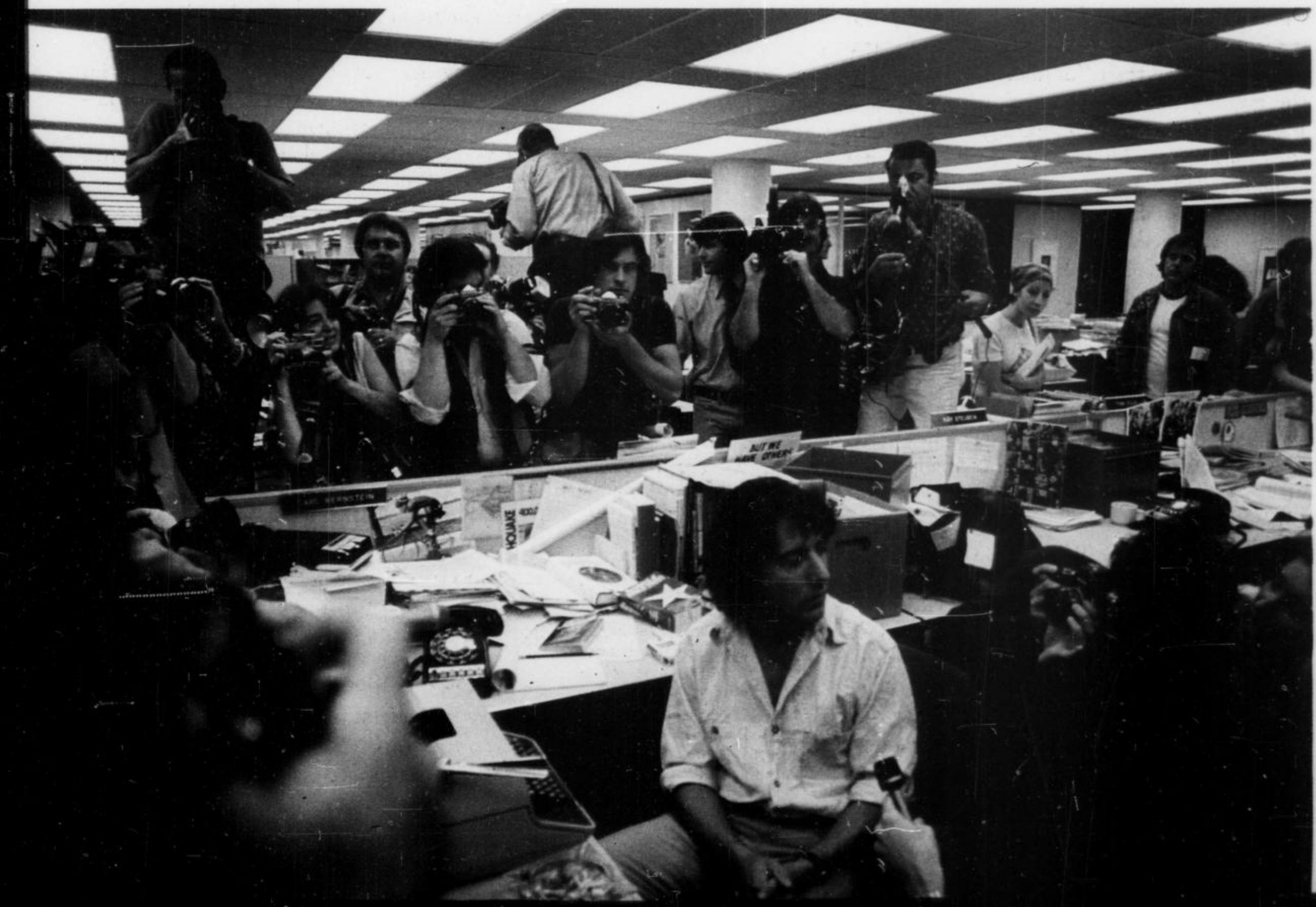
form of inquiry comparable to that used by the police and special services in their dealings with terrorists and drug traffickers.

To question, to revolt against this model may seem to be the reaction of a dyspeptic old soldier, of a journalist trained in a "holier-than-thou" tradition. Yet the vision I have of the journalistic profession makes me reject certain kinds of method and various forms of crypto-interrogations. I am one of those who feel that journalism must abide by rules other than those of the police and of the counter-espionage services. Perhaps I am wrong.

However, the greatest challenge to the professional communicator's conscience concerns the withholding of information. For having done so (and admitting it) in the context of the wars in Algeria and Viet Nam, for having considered myself capable of drawing a line between what could be communicated and what should not be said, for holding myself to be the guardian of the "just" cause and of "higher interests" than that of informing the public, I have been subjected to severe remonstrations. No doubt they were deserved, particularly when they came from people who had never, for other ends, been guilty of systematic and carefully disguised manipulations.

The rule is clear, it must be "the whole truth and nothing but the truth". But this must be complemented by the words of the motto the *New York Times* carries beneath its logo—"All the news that's fit to print". This excludes all that is unworthy—that is to say, not only whole categories of baser journalism, but, from its nobler forms, the divulgation of information that unduly affects the life and honour of human beings whose unworthiness has not been established.

With these guidelines in mind, journalists will conclude that the major problem they have to face lies not in the acquisition but in the dissemination of their portion of the truth, in establishing a balance between what has been ingested in good faith, in a world in which dross and deception abound, and what has been regurgitated. The line between the two is elusive and constantly moving. The only filter available is the journalistic conscience. ■



How far does the law recognize the journalist's self-imposed duty not to divulge the source of information given in confidence?

The protection of sources

by Patricia Wilhelm

"This time we'll get them."

"To observe professional secrecy and not to divulge the source of information obtained in confidence" is the seventh article of the Declaration of Rights and Obligations of Journalists, adopted by the International Federation of Journalists in 1972. This duty—since from the point of view of professional ethics it is indeed an obligation journalists have towards their informants—should be considered in parallel with the first of the rights set forth in the Declaration: "Journalists claim free access to all information sources, and the right to freely enquire on all events affecting public life. Therefore, secrecy of public or private affairs may only be opposed to journalists in exceptional cases and for clearly expressed motives."

A right or an obligation?

In most countries, journalists have to fight to obtain official recognition of their right not to disclose the sources of their information, when this is given in confidence. However, as a matter of professional ethics, journalists consider this to be a duty, an obligation towards their informants (sources), which is a corollary to their duty to provide the public with freely collected information.

Whatever the consequences for themselves may be, journalists thus consider it their duty not to reveal the identity of their informants or to allow their identity to become known. Non-official sources of information are likely to dry up for fear of retaliation if their anonymity is not guaranteed. But, if journalists relied exclusively on official information, they would be reduced to the status of official mouthpieces, and this conception of press freedom would bear little relation to the public's right to be informed.

This duty of confidentiality is claimed as a right because most national legal codes do not exempt journalists from the general obligation of the citizen to testify in a court of law when called upon to do so. In other words, journalists are often faced with an uncomfortable dilemma—on the one hand they commit themselves to absolute discretion towards their information sources, but on the other the authorities deny them the right to do so.

The public's right to be informed

Countries that are signatories to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights nevertheless recognize, in Article 19, that: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." It is evident, however, that the authorities and the courts do not give priority to this right when it conflicts with other rights—whether collective, such as state security or the administration of justice, or individual, such as the right to privacy in libel or slander cases.

This leads to two conclusions.

First of all, when journalists claim the right

PATRICIA WILHELM,
Belgian lawyer, is national secretary of the Belgian Journalists' Association. She is the author of *Protection of Sources: An International Review of Journalistic and Legal Practice* (Norwegian institute of Journalism, Fredrikstad, 1988), a survey commissioned by Unesco and carried out by Ms. Wilhelm on behalf of the International Federation of Journalists.

Above, photojournalist Russell Price (Nick Nolte) in *Under Fire* (1983), a film by the American director Roger Spottiswoode which examines the moral and political dilemmas faced by reporters.
Left, detail of a poster for a Cuban film festival (1969), by Rostgaard.

to protect their sources, they are not demanding a privilege for themselves, any more than they hold themselves to be the sole beneficiaries of the freedom of the press and the free flow of information. They are merely the professional link in the information chain and the protection of their sources is an essential corollary to the collective right of the public to be informed. The public is thus the real beneficiary of this form of secrecy.

Secondly, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, as well as to the free flow of information, is a fundamental right on a par with other human rights. Where there is a conflict of rights it should be remembered that the right to information is a right that concerns society as a whole and there is therefore no reason for it to be considered in any way a "second category" right.

Confidentiality under attack

Is there a need for a specific law to guarantee to journalists the right to protect their sources? On the face of it, all that would be needed would be an exemption from the general obligation to testify imposed by law on all citizens.

However, the authorities, in particular the judicial authorities, have other means of forcing

journalists to reveal their sources. They can be summoned by the police to attend a judicial inquiry, be called to appear before a parliamentary committee or to give evidence to a tribunal. Warrants can be issued for their homes or places of work to be searched and for items to be seized. Their telephone calls can be monitored, they can be sued, or even arrested, as being guilty of, or accomplices to, a crime or a misdemeanour. They can even be accused of complicity in a civil servant's breach of the professional code of secrecy or of stealing or receiving official documents.

In libel cases, journalists called upon to prove the truth of what they have written often have to choose between revealing the source of their information, so as to exonerate themselves, and remaining silent, in accordance with their professional code, and finding themselves condemned.

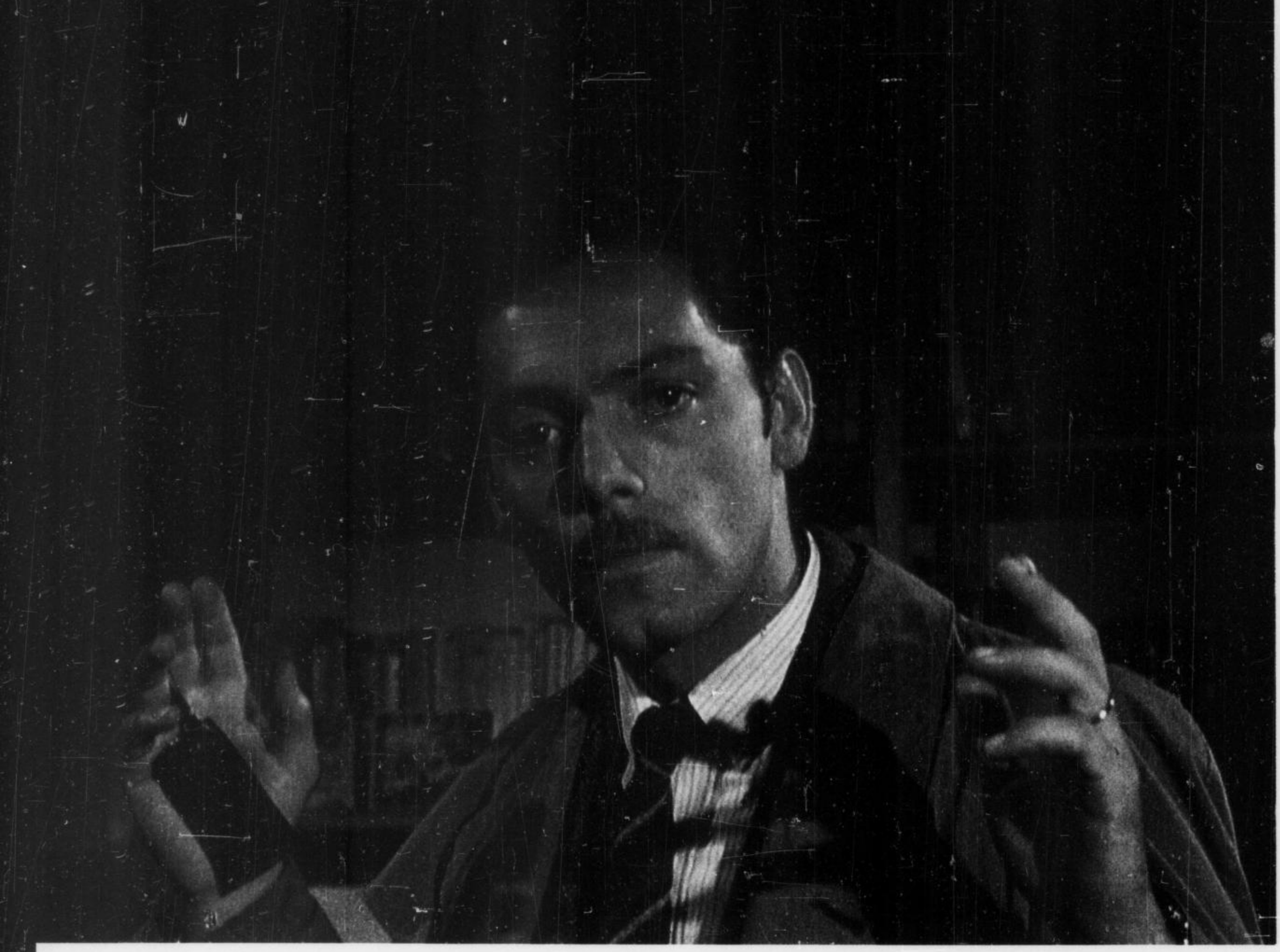
No protective legislation, however well conceived, can guarantee the free collecting of information. It will always be possible to get round such a law and bring pressure and intimidation to bear on the journalist.

For these reasons it is of fundamental importance that the principles of freedom of expression, freedom of the press and the right of the public to information should not only be a matter for legislation but should also become embodied in custom and practice. Political will, in the widest sense of the term, is needed if freedom of the press is to become anything more than a pious hope.

Journalists, publishers and trade unions all have a role to play in the campaign to bring these problems to the attention of their colleagues, the public and the authorities. General awareness of the vital importance of the question of the protection of sources, as a corollary to the right to freedom of information, is an essential adjunct to legislation on this matter.

A law on the protection of sources

A number of basic principles that can be used as guidelines in the drawing up of laws guaranteeing the highest possible level of protection of the



L ESPECTADOR trabajará en
en de la patria con criterio
beral y en bien de los principios
berales con criterio patriótico
FIDEL CANO

EL ESPECTADOR

Bogotá, Jueves 7 de diciembre de 1989

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...A PARA PRENSA "CIRCULO N° 3" ... LA ADMINISTRACION POSTAL NACIONAL
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...RIODO DE LEY ... DE AGOSTO DE...

Otra narco-masacre

Decenas de víctimas y centenares de heridos en atentado con 500 kilos de dinamita gelatinosa frente a las instalaciones del DAS, en Bogotá. Destruidas varias edificaciones del sector de Paloquemao. Cuantiosas pérdidas materiales.

BOGOTA

En lo que constituyó el más grave atentado terrorista que se haya registrado en el país a través de toda su historia, 41 personas perdieron la vida y más de 300 resultaron heridas al estallar un carro-bomba frente al ala oriental del edificio que sirve de sede al Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad, localizado en la carrera 7 entre calles 17 y 18 de Bogotá.

Según expertos en explosivos tanto de la misma institución como de la Policía Nacional y del Cuerpo Técnico de Policía Judicial, la carga estaba compuesta por no menos de media tonelada de dinamita gelatinosa al 90%, lo que explica la tremenda devastación que causó tanto en el edificio del Das como en inmuebles situados a 8 cuadras a la redonda, y el cráter de 3.80 metros de profundidad, 3.60 de largo y 11.60 de ancho que quedó en el sitio en donde se produjo la explosión.

(Continúa en la página 13-A)

EL ESPECTADOR-Francisco Carranza.

Panorama de muerte y destrucción frente a las instalaciones del DAS, en el sector de Paloquemao, en Bogotá.

"Con fe, valor y firmeza, pongámonos de pie para defender la Patria", insta Barco. Maza demanda solidaridad ciudadana.

BOGOTA

En mensaje televisado desde Tokio, Japón, el presidente Barco repudió el atentado dinamitero contra las instalaciones del DAS e instó a los colombianos a que "con fé, valor y firmeza pongámonos de pie para defender la Patria".

El jefe del estado advirtió, igualmente, que la democracia colombiana se encuentra amenazada por los violentos y que el gobierno seguirá en la lucha contra el narcotráfico para impedir que el país caiga bajo una tiranía sangrienta.

ACCION DE NARCOS.— Tras el atentado contra las dependencias de la entidad a su cargo, el general Miguel Maza Márquez afirmó que el mismo se trata de una nueva acción promovida por las mafias organizadas del narcotráfico contra el pueblo colombiano.

VALEROSA ACTITUD.— Al término de un Consejo de Ministros que fue convocada en forma extraordinaria para analizar los graves hechos de orden público que azotan al país, los miembros del Gabinete expidieron un comunicado en el que respaldan la valerosa posición adoptada por el gobierno del presidente Barco.

(Véase página 12-A)

Above, drug traffickers are denounced in a front page story from a 1989 issue of *El Espectador*, a leading Colombian daily. The paper has been the target of attacks from organized crime and several of its journalists have been killed. Left, journalist Paul Kerjean (Patrick Dewaere) engaged on a dangerous assignment in *Mille Milliards de Dollars* (1981), a film by the French director Henri Verneuil.

confidentiality of sources can be derived from legal provisions that already exist, in particular, in Austria and Sweden.

The Austrian press law, which came into force in January 1982, allows journalists to refuse to give evidence in a court of law or, in the context of an administrative process, to reply to questions concerning the identity of the originator or other source of a piece of information. This right also exists for publishers and all other workers, from clerks to printers, and is applicable in all branches of the media.

The Swedish law provides similar protection, but instead of granting a right it imposes an obligation of silence on journalists and others working in the media, so as to protect the anonymity of informants. It reinforces this obligation by a general prohibition of investigation into the source of information. To ignore this prohibition is a punishable offence.

The Austrian law is further strengthened by a general ban on searches—not only of editorial offices, but also of all media premises, including print shops and despatch departments—and on the seizure of editorial material—articles, photographs, films, sound recordings and electronic material. This ban extends also to the homes of journalists and other media employees.

To sum up, any law on the protection of sources of information must apply:

- to all the media—newspapers, magazines, radio, television, press agencies, the electronic media;
- to all forms of information—articles, photographs, video-tapes, magnetic tapes, computer materials;
- to all personnel engaged in the processing of information—publishers, journalists, executives, technicians, printers.

Such a law must be accompanied by a prohibition on searches and on the seizure of materials from places of work or from the homes of journalists and other media personnel.

Above all, however, the authorities, and in particular the judicial authorities, must recognize that the free flow of information, the youngest of the human rights, is one of the bases of the democratic system of which free access to all sources of information is a *sine qua non.* ■

Private life and the public eye

Unjustified intrusions by the sensationalist press pose a threat to the freedom of information

by Jonathan Fenby

ONE definition of news is that it is information which somebody somewhere does not want published or broadcast. While much of the news which appears day by day is unlikely to cause anybody lost sleep, that definition does contain more than a grain of truth. The information which makes most impact in the world's newspapers and airwaves deals with exceptional events—the one airliner which crashes rather than the thousands which land safely, a change of direction by politicians rather than the steady implementation of known policies, the exceptionally good or bad crop yield rather than the average harvest. Often these exceptional events are, by their nature, news which somebody somewhere would prefer not to be publicized—for a multitude of reasons ranging from political or business embarrassment to considerations of personal grief and pain.

The media's emphasis on the new and the unusual has often been decried, most notably in criticism of Western media organizations for concentrating on "bad news" in reporting from Africa, Asia and Latin America. But it flows inevitably from the service role of the press and broadcasting organizations. The media and the news they transmit cannot exist in a vacuum. However fine its principles and admirable its writing, a newspaper without readers would be a pointless entity.

Satisfying a market is not a sufficient condition on its own, but the existence of a market is a necessary condition for the independent, commercial media of the kind found in democratic nations. Without customers, the media become a collection of propaganda organs for which the crucial choices on content are made by those who pay the bills, and it seems to me a matter of everyday observation that, for the most part, these customers are interested in information about the exceptional, the new and the unusual.

Like it or not, it is human nature to be interested in the occasional aircraft crash rather than the thousands of safe landings, and the media cater to this trait. The media, of course, fulfil many other roles—as commentator, analyst, observer, cultural guide, provider of good writing and even of humour. But the primary role is to

discover and communicate news which is important and relevant to an audience and to do this effectively the media need a political and social environment which acknowledges the free provision of information to the public as a social good, rather than something grudgingly accorded to the media on condition that they behave themselves by standards set by the political authorities.

Those authorities may regard such freedom as unpalatable in practice, even if they pay lip service to the general principle of the freedom of the press. It is only natural that those who exercise power should find it uncomfortable to have their failures, misdeeds and secret activities brought to light. The understandable, if regrettable, tendency of those in power to take a restrictive view of what the media should and should not do is heightened in many democratic countries by the adversarial relationship between the press and broadcasting, on the one hand, and those in power—be it in politics, business, administration or other fields.

The media's role as discoverer and publicizer of abuses of authority makes an uncomfortable bedfellow for those who want to get on with running things with a minimum of public scrutiny. Add to that the media's role as critic and commentator and the adversarial relationship becomes inevitable if the media are to play their proper part in open societies.

In 1936, Edward VIII abdicated from the British throne and was created Duke of Windsor. Left, a journalist types his copy on a portable machine after being ejected from the grounds of a château where the ex-King was staying.

As a recognition of the need to protect the media's position in such a relationship, some countries enshrine freedom of information in their constitutions. Elsewhere some governments have adhered to international conventions which guarantee such freedom. The media in these countries may still run into problems with governments and in the law courts: given the nature of the relationship and the way that the media will always be pressing to the limits of their freedoms, it would be surprising if they did not. But the basis from which the argument starts is usually relatively clear.

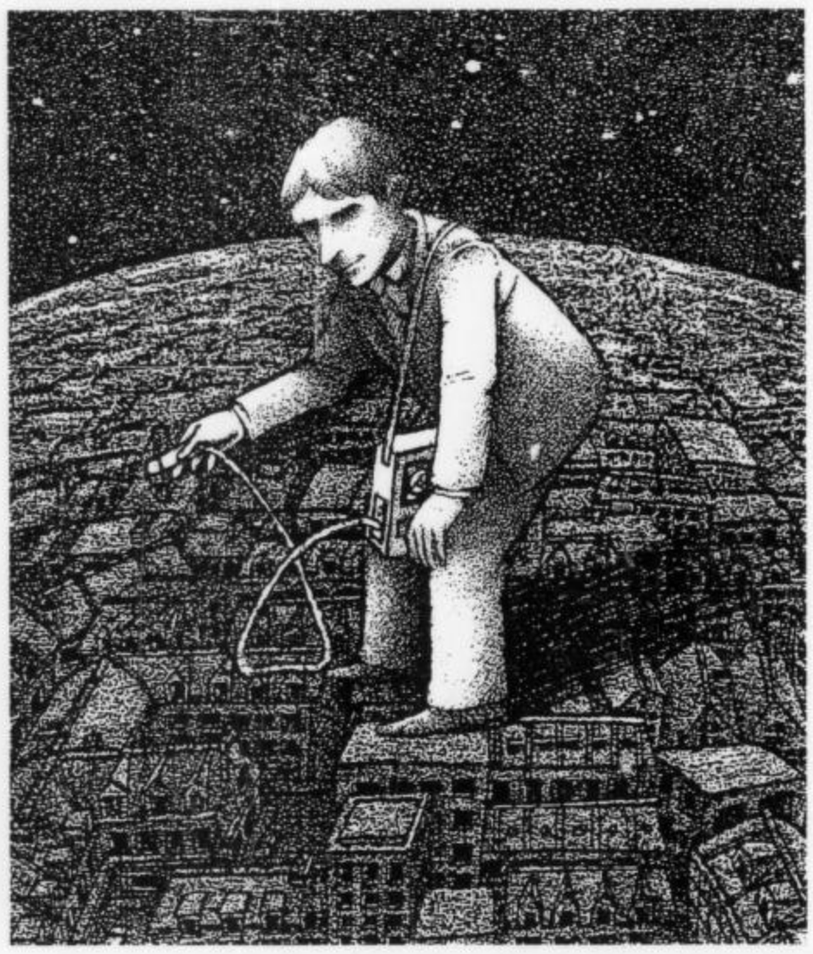
Press indiscretions

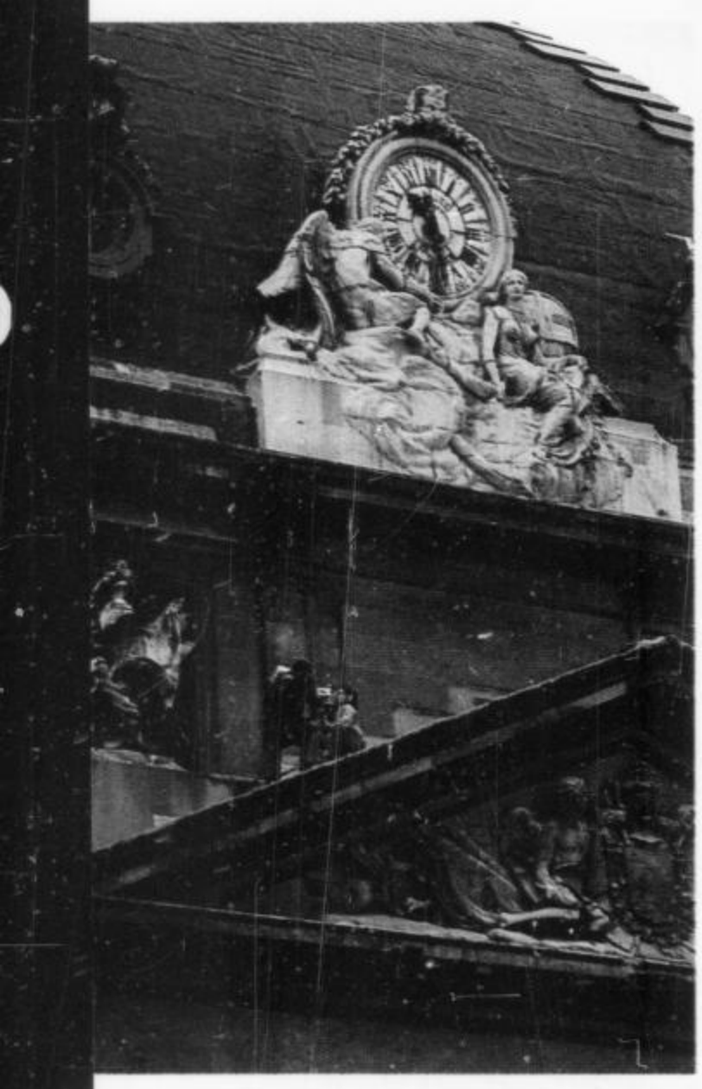
In my own country, Britain, the situation is much more cloudy and contains distinct dangers for the freedom of information. We have no statutory guarantee of freedom of expression and, in recent court cases, the media have found themselves having to argue to show why they should be free to report—rather than the prosecution being required to demonstrate why a certain piece of information should be withheld from the public.

The notion of serving the public interest does not always carry great weight in such cases. Two journalists have been fined in recent years for refusing to disclose the sources of stories. Under

a new Official Secrets Act, civil servants who disclose information will not be able to invoke the public interest as a defence. In one recent case, the government held that an injunction obtained against two newspapers on a story prevented all other newspapers from publishing similar material, opening the way to blanket bans which, for instance, could be based on legal action against small, poor publications unable to fight it through the extremely expensive British legal process.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many people in the British media believe that freedom of expression is being constrained by political and legal decisions which take little or no account of the essential contribution of freedom of information to the public interest. On top of this, extremely large libel damages running to £1 million or more in several recent cases have added to press concerns. Even if a newspaper feels it has a good case, the prospect of an inconclusive legal outcome in which it will be left to pay the very high costs of legal representation may act as another deterrent to publishing an accurate but legally tricky report.





Below, filming the Bastille Day procession in Paris.

This adversarial, exceptional, uncomfortable part which I have sketched out for the media inevitably raises a question about how far their legitimate role in unearthing and publicizing news should go. When it comes to political scandals, business frauds or administrative malpractice, the public service line should be easy to draw: publish and, if you are wrong, be damned. Where things get more difficult is in weighing up the balance between disclosure in the public interest and the rights of individuals to privacy.

Not even the most ardent advocates of the freedom of information would, I think, deny the individual's right to privacy. The question is at what point that right ceases to be a protection against intrusion by the media. "Intrusion" is a loaded term, with a pejorative implication. But without intrusion, many of the most notable media disclosures of wrongdoing would never have taken place. There is nothing easier than for a corrupt public figure or a shady businessman to try to block investigation by the media on the grounds that reporters are intruding into their private affairs. Equally, there may be few things more difficult for an ordinary person than to face journalists poking into his or her life in the hope of finding information.

The press on probation

To return to my own country, there have been several cases recently in which media intrusion has taken place without any immediately apparent public interest being served. The parents of a young television actor who committed suicide have recently been vocal in attacking what they see as press harassment as the cause of his death. In another case, journalists from a tabloid publication which specializes in sex and sensation entered the hospital room of another television star as he was recovering from brain surgery and took pictures and questioned him before being ejected by security staff.

Such examples have fuelled calls from some politicians for greater controls over the press and stronger protections of privacy against media intrusion. After two members of parliament unsuccessfully introduced bills into the House of Commons to establish the right to privacy, the government warned last year that the press was on probation and a special commission was set up to look at privacy and related matters. This commission—known after its chairman, David Calcutt, as the Calcutt Commission—reported in June 1990. It laid down measures including making physical intrusion onto private property a criminal offence and the threat of statutory controls if the media are held to have misbehaved during a twelve-month probationary period of self-regulation.

The reaction of the media in Britain was overwhelmingly hostile. The excesses of some popular papers which led to the establishment of the Calcutt Commission are often difficult to excuse. One commentator referred to such newspapers as "filthy rags", while others acknowledged that the behaviour of parts of the tabloid press made the press as a whole fair game for regulation. Attempts at self-regulation which the national newspapers have made over the past year appear to have had little lasting effect, and have raised the question of whether tabloid newspaper proprietors are more ready to risk disapproval or the falling sales which might result from greater self-restraint.

But the problem for the media as a whole is that any system which prevents intrusion into privacy in the case of an isolated, powerless individual could also be used to protect those whom the press and broadcasting should be free to expose if they are to play their proper role. The deputy leader of the British Labour Party,

JONATHAN FENBY,
British journalist, is deputy editor of *The Guardian*. A former correspondent for Reuters and editor of the agency's international news services, he has also served as correspondent in France and Germany for *The Economist* and as home editor and assistant editor of *The Independent*.

Roy Hattersley, recently acknowledged the difference between the privacy of those in public life and that of private individuals, and added that it was almost impossible to protect the privacy of politicians in the same way as that of other individuals.

The difficulty is where such a line should be drawn. In most cases, the distinction between public and private is obvious. But private individuals can suddenly become subjects of public interest because they are caught up in events which make news—and then fall back into obscurity. Equally, there is a continuing debate about whether the private lives of public figures should be subject to the same kind of reserve as the private lives of private individuals. Should newspapers report on, say, the way political leaders spend their leisure time? Or, to take another example, are the problems of relatives of well-known figures proper material for news reports? Should the arrest of the son of a prominent politician on a drugs charge be treated as if it concerned a public figure or a private individual?

Different newpapers and broadcasting stations handle such questions in different ways, according to their own definition of their own responsibilities and their view of what most interests the public at which they are aiming. The diversity of the media in many countries means that stories which may appear on the front pages of tabloids may not even be reported in broadsheet quality newspapers. The danger point for the freedom of information comes when the public considers that unjustified intrusions into privacy justify legal restraints on the press. Newspapers may say that regulation of the press is worse than irresponsibility by the press. But if the media are to enjoy the freedom they need to carry out their job properly, they have to know how to use that freedom—and where abuse begins.

They cannot expect to be popular with those in authority, and must be ready on occasion to be unpopular with at least some of their own audience. Their role as a source of disclosures and investigation means that they have to be prepared to delve into areas which involve sensitive questions of privacy, but they have to be certain that in doing so intrusion is balanced by the public interest it is serving. When that balance is achieved, the media are on firm ground. When it is not, they put their place in society at risk, and open the door to regulation from those who regard freedom of information as an irritant rather than an absolute good. ■

A swarm of paparazzi in Federico Fellini's film *La Dolce Vita* (1959), which describes the life of a journalist.

In a developing country, the daunting costs of launching an independent publication

Senegal

The price of a free press

by Babacar Touré

In January 1986, a dozen young Senegalese journalists founded an independent press group, Sud-Communication. Almost two years later, they launched *Sud-Hebdo,* a weekly which has now become a yardstick for the African media and a symbol of hope for the many journalists in Africa who are endeavouring to throw off the shackles of the official press.

With limited means and the trust of its increasingly faithful readers as sole support, *Sud-Hebdo* was keen to play its part in consolidating democracy in Senegal, which would be meaningless without a genuinely free and responsible press. It also wanted to provide a platform for certain sections of society excluded from the state-run media by their non-conformism.

But the battle is far from over. In Senegal, nothing is done officially to gag the press, but the economic situation is so bad and the press subsidy system in the private sector so sketchy that any attempt to go it alone without attaching oneself to some group or coterie is tempting Providence.

A journalist records a radio interview for a programme on living conditions in Niger.

High overheads

To escape the clutches of the tax authorities, Sud-Communication has officially declared itself a "groupement d'intérêt économique" (joint-venture consortium), which, however, has the drawback that Sud-Communication is not permitted to make a profit: all surplus moneys generated by its activities must be reinvested in the company. But owing to lack of resources, it cannot for the time being consider setting up a limited liability company, which although admittedly more of a target for the tax authorities, would be better equipped to attract finance.

Turning to the practical side, *Sud-Hebdo* does not own its premises but rents two facing apartments in central Dakar, consisting in all of six rooms with utilities. One serves as the newsroom, the remainder being occupied by the administrative and secretarial staff. Lack of space has meant that a kitchen has been requisitioned to house the equipment. The monthly rental for the two apartments is 350,000 francs CFA*.

In many countries, the press enjoys preferential rates for telecommunications, but in Senegal it is regarded as an ordinary customer, subject to the same system as everyone else. *Sud-Hebdo* has therefore had to drop the idea of a telex and confine itself to a subscription to the International Press Agency, which supplies national news as well as dispatches from Agence France Presse. This onerous monthly subscription *(Sud-Hebdo* has to go and fetch the news from the agency) amounts to 58,500 francs CFA per month. The bi-monthly telephone bill comes to 400,000 francs CFA on average, while the electricity bill is about 60,000 francs CFA. To offset the shortcomings of its communications system, *Sud-Hebdo* recently equipped itself with a small computer hooked up to the telecommunications system and a fax terminal, thus further adding to its overheads.

Although to begin with *Sud-Hebdo* employed only a dozen people, this number has had to be substantially increased in order to produce a quality product within very tight deadlines. The staff currently consists of eight permanent journalists and two photo-reporters, ten freelances, two sales representatives, four word-processor operators and three support staff. Their salaries come to over 3.8 million francs CFA per month, to which 450,000 francs CFA have to be added for equipment and ancillary costs.

Each issue, which usually has a print-run of

BABACAR TOURÉ,
Senegalese journalist, is editorial director of the Dakar weekly newspaper *Sud-Hebdo*. Co-founder of *Vivre Autrement*, the first French-language consumers' magazine in Africa, he is a member of the management committee of the West African Union of Journalists.

Sud hebdo

N° 99 - Jeudi 5 avril 1990 - ISSN 0850869 0 PRIX 300 F CFA

Edité par Sudcom (GIE)
Groupe multimédia Sud communication
18, rue Raffenel Tél : 22 75 09 - BP 4130
Dakar-Sénégal

LE RAMADAN DE BABA

Voir page 7

DEPART DE JEAN COLLIN

COMMENT C'EST ARRIVÉ

- Le système Collin
- Les vœux de Diouf
- Les chances du dialo... nation...

Editorial

MEDIAS ET PLURALISME

ÇA "PRESSE"

Les journaux connaissent une situation paradoxale. Au fur et à mesure qu'augmente leur audience auprès du public, leurs charges déculpent sans qu'il s'en suive un accroissement des ventes qui au mieux stagnent quand elles ne reculent pas. Un tel phénomène pervers s'explique par plusieurs facteurs dont la conjonction aboutit à une balance négative.

Le poste le plus important concerne la distribution. Sur les trois cents francs (300) que vous payez pour votre hebdomadaire, cent huit francs (108) reviennent au distributeur, c'est-à-dire à l'Agence de distribution de presse (Adp). Contrairement à une idée généralement répandue au sein du public, l'Adp n'a pas de monopole de la distribution au Sénégal. Si monopole il y a, il est favorisé dans les faits par les nationaux qui, c'est connu, à part l'import/export et l'immobilier, désertent royalement les secteurs "à risques" par ignorance ou par peur de prendre des... risques. Si votre moyenne de vente annuelle n'atteint pas cinq mille exemplaires, c'est un taux de ristourne de quarante pour cent (40 %) qui vous sera appliqué, c'est-à-dire pour un journal vendu à trois cent francs (300 F) les frais de distribution seront de cent vingt francs (120 F). Les choses ne sont cependant pas si simples puisque le distributeur, c'est-à-dire l'Adp, devra ristourner à son tour pas moins de vingt pour cent (54 F Cfa) au revendeur, c'est-à-dire à votre marchand de journaux le tenant du kiosque du coin, comme on dit. Le produit de la vente ne sera disponible qu'au bout d'un mois au plus tôt.

Le téléphone instrument indispensable de collecte et de transmission de l'information est hors de portée par ses coûts prohibitifs. Les facteurs de production tels l'électricité et l'eau grèvent les budgets des éditeurs et des imprimeurs tout comme ceux des industries et des ménages. Le relèvement des droits de douane intervenu en septembre dernier et qui avait provoqué une hausse sensible sur tous les produits importés en même temps qu'une grève des commerçants et la grogne du patronat a frappé de plein fouet les journaux.

En effet, les hausses sont répercutées par les imprimeurs aux éditeurs qui eux refusent de faire porter le chapeau au lecteur comme le voudrait la logique économique prise. Là gît le lièvre. Nous ne réaffirmerons jamais assez notre conception du journalisme : nous ne sommes pas des marchands de papiers et de sensationnel ; aurions nous voulu doubler, voire tripler notre tirage et nos ventes que nous aurions procédé autrement, en cultivant l'insolite, le sensationnel ou les scandales, les ragots, sans parler des différentes forme de chantage comme c'est le cas d'une certaine presse (sic !). Si pour reprendre le chef de l'Etat, c'est *"le difficile qui est le chemin"*; alors nous avons pris les risques de nos responsabilités : promouvoir une presse libre et responsable, crédible et indépendante de tout groupe ou individu, du pouvoir comme de l'opposition et des différents lobbies qui peuplent le décor communicationnel de ce pays comme d'ailleurs. Une telle attitude éthique nous a valu bien des désagréments, mais aussi beaucoup de satisfactions avec un lectorat qui aura fini par admettre que nous puissions n'être d'aucun bord si ce n'est celui de la démocratie de l'intérêt général du pays et de la compréhension mutuelle entre les peuples.

Suite page 3

An editorial conference at the Senegalese weekly *Sud-Hebdo*. At head of table, Babacar Touré, the editorial director.

10,000, therefore costs 306 francs CFA, but is sold for 300 francs CFA.

In Senegal, there is only one distribution network, namely that of the Press Distribution Agency (ADP), a subsidiary of the French company Hachette. This de facto monopoly (legally, this sector is open to competition) enables ADP unilaterally to set exorbitant commission rates, 36 per cent of the selling price in the case of *Sud-Hebdo*. Together with other independent newspapers, we have tried on a number of occasions to shake free of ADP, but have failed owing to lack of sufficient resources to compete against such a well-established company, which does its utmost to beat off competition from potential rivals.

Selling at a loss would be less absurd if the shortfall was met from advertising revenue. But

this is not the case. The weight of tradition, the persistence of archaic management methods and the backwardness of the economy mean that advertisers in Senegal still regard buying space in a newspaper as charity, on a par with alms giving. This is why a newspaper with the reputation of *Sud-Hebdo* earned a mere 40,000 francs CFA per month on average in 1989 from advertising.

These problems would have been less serious if *Sud-Hebdo* had a substantial number of subscribers, but unfortunately it does not. This is not through lack of interest on the part of readers, but because there are no preferential postage rates for newspapers, which are treated as ordinary mail.

A newspaper sold by subscription at just under 300 francs CFA can therefore cost 450 francs CFA when postage is added. Using four mopeds, we have tried to set up a home delivery service, currently serving about a hundred subscribers.

Fortunately, *Sud-Hebdo* has a good sales record (83 per cent of the total copies printed on average) and has its own desktop publishing system (three micro-computers and a laser printer). This equipment, which is a first for any newspaper in sub-Saharan Africa, makes it possible to save on photocomposition and layout costs. Outside work--photocomposition for other newspapers, brochures, theses and books—also brings in 1,970,000 francs CFA per year.

Proclaiming freedom of the press is one thing, implementing it another. Although it can be affirmed in principle, in practice it may be restricted, intentionally or unintentionally, unless the necessary steps are taken to translate it into reality.

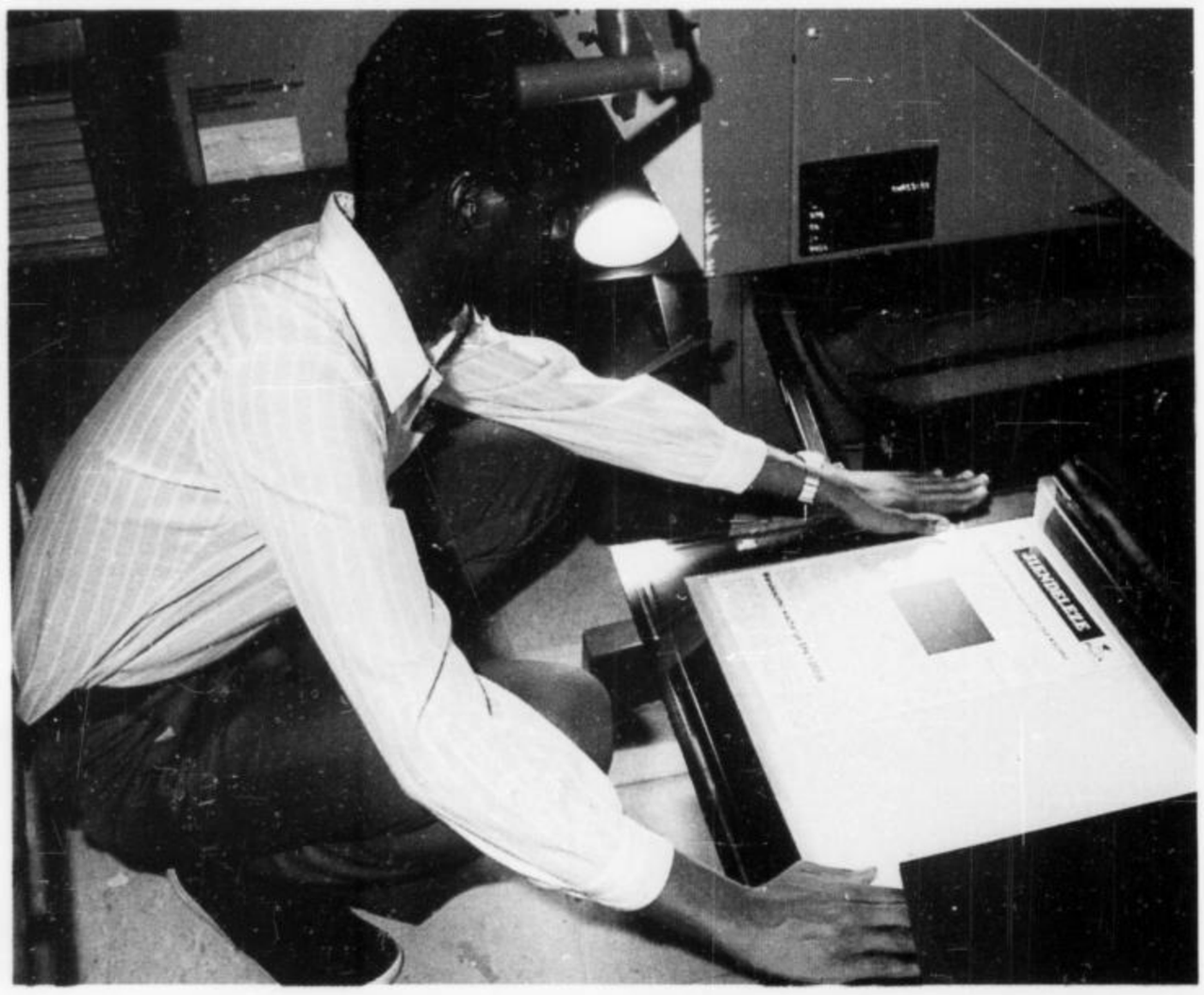
The Union of Senegalese Information and Communication Professionals (SYNPICS) has several times drawn the attention of the authorities to the deplorable situation of the press, resulting in the amendment, in 1986, of the Press Act in force since 1979. A Fund for the Promotion of the Press was set up but never actually came to anything. What is more, the Act does not even stipulate how the Fund is supposed to function and what criteria are to determine the allocation of the resources it is supposed to administer.

Media professionals have also called for a more equitable distribution of advertising resources between the state-run media, foreign publications—which take the lion's share—and the private national press, which is not subsidized. The grossly unfair contract imposed by the ADP has always been condemned, but to no avail.

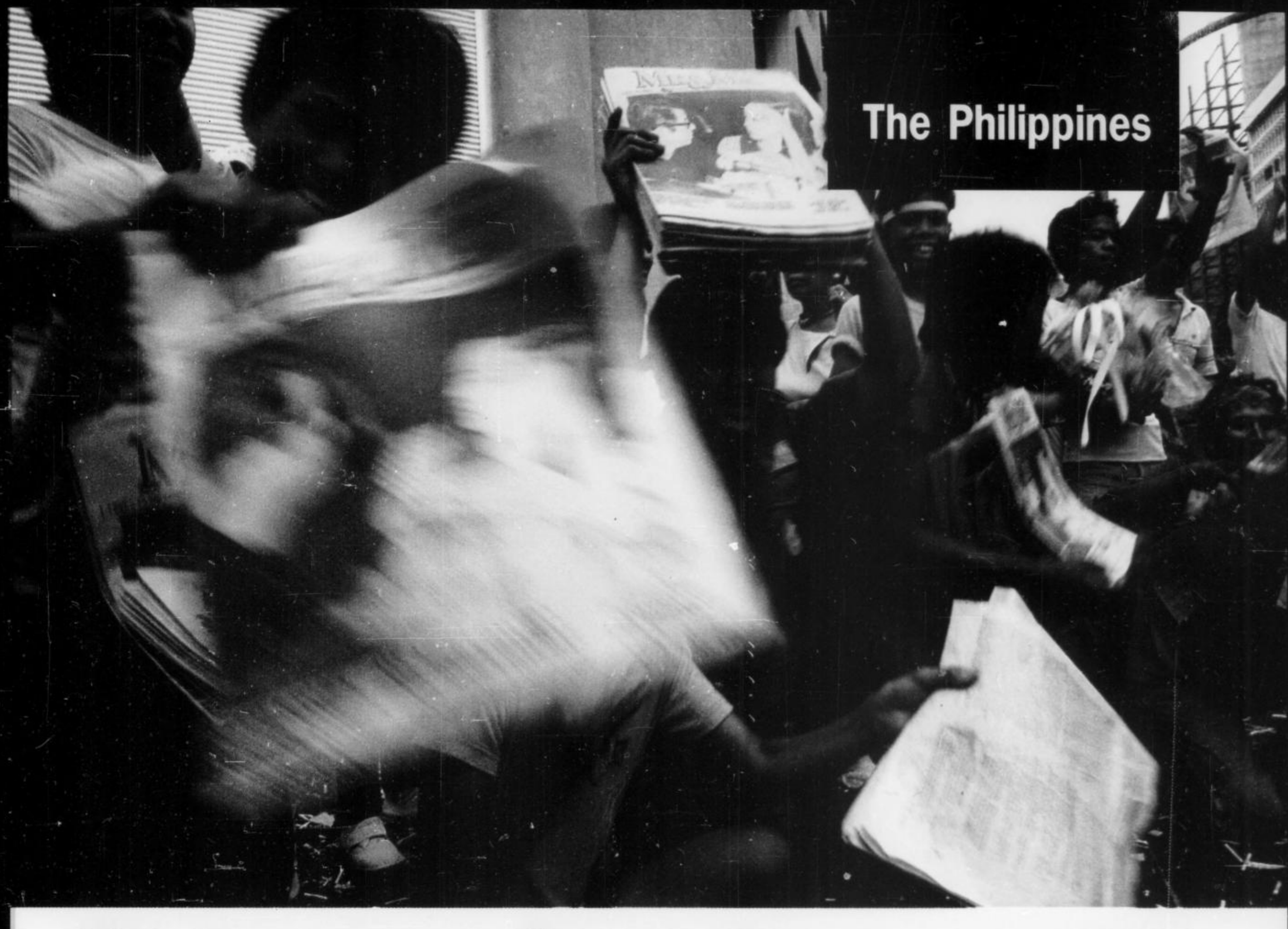
Many newspapers are urgently demanding tax exemption for the chief items involved in their production, and also preferential telecommunications rates, again without much success. Worse still, the new National Printing Centre (a company in which the state is a majority shareholder) recently raised its already prohibitive rates by 34.2 per cent without warning. As a result, many newspapers, including the national monthly radio and television magazine, are now being printed abroad.

Sud-Hebdo, which in January 1990 had expanded to twelve pages, was three months later forced to slim down to eight pages again. It is even thinking of reducing the print-run, of shedding some of its staff (already in short supply), and of reducing costs which cannot be pared down any further as things stand. In April 1990, *Sud-Hebdo* and two other independent weeklies, *Wal Fadjri* and *Le cafard libéré,* held a joint press conference, followed up by the publication of a joint editorial, to encourage the authorities to pay greater attention to the problems of the press. Senegalese media people today have had just about as much as they can take. ■

Below, the newsroom of a Zambian paper. Bottom, production of a rural newspaper in the United Republic of Tanzania.



* 300 francs CFA (Communauté Financière Africaine) = approx. 1 US dollar.



Demonstration in support of press freedom, Manila.

Between freedom and anarchy

In the euphoria of liberation, the media try to find their bearings

THE people of the Philippines, who for decades had been fighting a seemingly losing battle against an oppressive regime, will remember 1986 as the year that ushered in a new era. In the February revolution, millions of Filipinos fought with nothing but prayers and a firm determination to restore freedom and democracy to their land. The phrase that inspired them was "people power".

During those four days in February, the mass media were very much in the forefront, informing, mobilizing and directing. What made this media "coup" even more spectacular was that journalists were operating in a climate of fear and apathy created by years of repression. When Ferdinand Marcos came to power, he transformed almost overnight what had been regarded as the freest press in Asia into an instrument for the perpetuation of his own regime.

For many years, the people of the Philippines

had no access to media that told them what was really happening in the country. Information was manipulated, either by direct censorship or by self-censorship based on fear. All kinds of information were considered secret, from Marcos's state of health to government investments and the transactions of financial institutions. Reporters could not even obtain statistics on malnutrition in the Philippines. Secrecy reached such heights that even certain laws that were passed remained secret.

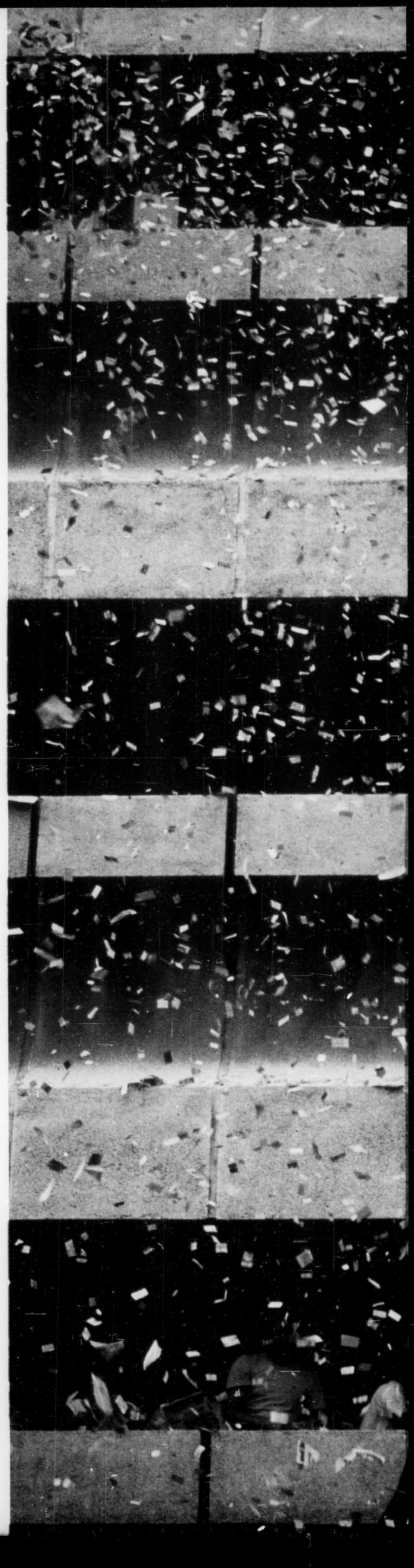
Various presidential decrees were designed to stop the free flow of information. Presidential Decree 33, for example, penalized the printing, possession, distribution and circulation of certain leaflets, handbills and propaganda, while Presidential Decree 90 penalized any person who published, distributed, circulated or spread "rumours, false news or information" that could prove "divisive" to the people.

The intimidation and harassment of journalists was a common occurrence. Those who dared to speak out could lose their jobs, or were the object of administrative and legal charges. Some were imprisoned, tortured or even killed. It is estimated that twenty-seven journalists were killed during the Marcos years.

Radio station managers and newspaper editors were not exempt. They were intimidated, risked imprisonment or found that they no longer had a paper or station to run. Immediately after the imposition of martial law in September 1972, the government took over the ownership of a number of media. Others were shut down. Some of them resurfaced, but the new owners were friends or associates of President Marcos. Indictments against the media increased in force and frequency, creating an all-pervasive climate of fear and insecurity among media professionals.

The turning point finally came in August 1983 with the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino. Suddenly, "alternative" media began to surface. A handful of tabloid newspapers and radio stations created by journalists dared to defy government instructions on how to handle news stories, despite the constant harassment and intimidation. Though they had little or no advertising, they somehow managed to survive and by late 1985 they had more credibility than the pro-Marcos "establishment" media. In the end, they brought about their own liberation, and in the process they liberated the country as well.

The new head of government, Corazon Aquino, the widow of the assassinated opposition leader, kept her campaign promises. One of her first acts was to free the media. Presidential Decrees 33 and 90, which led to the worst abuses against journalists and media institutions, were revoked. More than 500 political prisoners, many of them journalists, were released. A Presidential Commission was set up to investigate all forms of human rights violations, past and present.



Shreds of paper flutter from a Manila building during a popular demonstration in 1983 following the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino.

For the media, liberation proved to be heady. Newspapers sprang up overnight and ran column after column on opinions and letters to the editor. Never before had the press, radio and television enjoyed such freedom. The press promised the new president a hundred-day "honeymoon" during which time there was to be no adverse criticism of the government. This was intended to allow the president and ministers time to adjust and make the transition.

But the "honeymoon" lasted barely a month. As the then minister of information told a *Washington Post* reporter, "...immediately after the revolution, before anyone had a chance to do anything wrong, the press turned on the government. There were personal attacks ridiculing the eccentricity of this or that minister." (He came under attack himself for delays in issuing press passes for the presidential palace.)

As the end of the hundred days drew near, the media began to criticize the president for her "lack of major accomplishments so far". This struck Corazon Aquino as eminently unfair. "Getting rid of Marcos," she stated, "was no mean feat, and so was the restoration of freedom, and particularly press freedom." Although she has publicly regretted the adverse media reporting which gives the impression that government policies do not do anyone any good, there is no doubt that she is committed to freedom of the press: "I would rather have a press that goes overboard than a censored press...even if reporters don't always get their facts straight, and media reporting sometimes takes 'destructive forms'," she told the Press Foundation of Asia in April 1986.

The dangers of irresponsible reporting and sensationalism

Readers in the Philippines today have never had a greater choice. There are twenty-three newspapers, not to mention weekly magazines and other publications, in fierce competition for readers and advertisers.

To attract readers and stay in business, quite a few newspapers have been indulging in sensational reporting. Rumours are exaggerated out of all proportion and sometimes presented as hard facts. Irresponsible reporting is bringing into question the newly regained credibility of the media. President Aquino was even led to charge that "there is too much disinformation going around". The Archbishop of Manila, Jaime Cardinal Sin, also criticized the media in a pastoral letter that was read in all the Catholic churches of the capital, accusing them of "tale-bearing and vicious rumour-mongering" and asserting that there was a definite tendency to undermine the social order in the critical times the Philippines were going through.

At a national conference on communication and journalism held in June 1986, a group of

educators warned that certain publications were tending towards the type of "wayward" media that were prevalent during the period preceding martial law. Certain senior journalists concurred, especially as far as the "new" journalistic practices were concerned, which one of them summed up as follows: "Mere rumours are blown up as factual stories. Confidence is sometimes violated. Some resort to unethical means in getting stories. All in all, there is mayhem..."

Whereas in the past Filipinos accused the Western press of depicting their country as if it were on the brink of civil war, many leaders in the country agree that today the Filipino press itself must take a good part of the blame for the climate of uncertainty. They also accuse the media of encouraging intrigue among top government officials, a practice that leads to acrimonious and damaging political infighting.

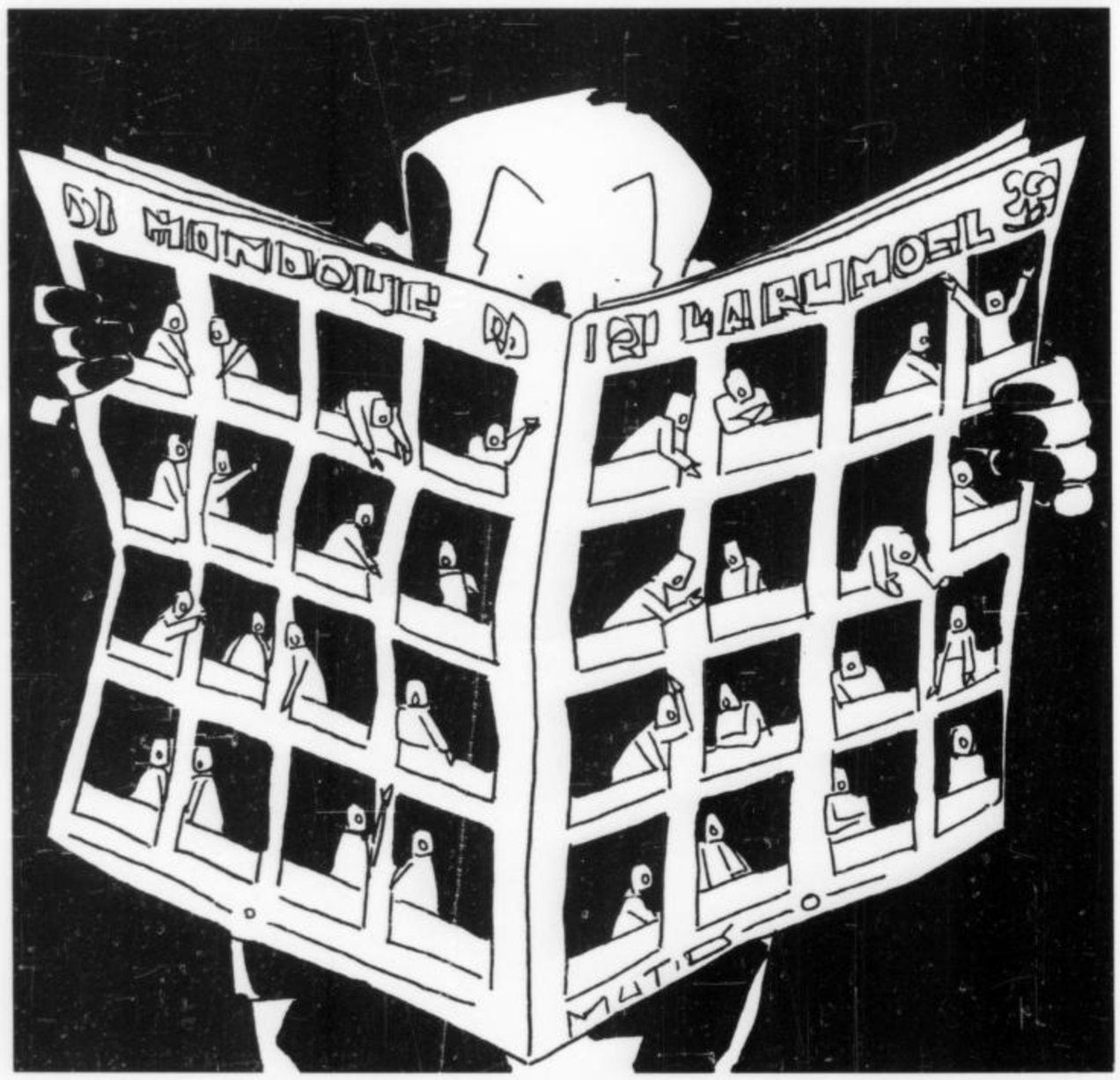
The military have their own grievances. They have accused reporters and broadcasters of giving unusually heavy coverage to communist leaders. Media professionals retort that the communist rebel movement is important, and that its leaders have made themselves readily available for comments and interviews.

Another common complaint concerns the type of news covered. By and large, newspapers are urban-oriented and what happens in the provinces tends to be buried in the inside pages. Only stories of crime, violence or natural disaster make the headlines.

Among the many shortcomings of the media in the Philippines, there is a lack of journalistic professionalism. In spite of the freer environment, which means that sources of information are easier to approach, some journalists still rely primarily on press releases. According to the president of Radio Philippines Network: "While we may have gained precious freedom for journalistic endeavours, some of us still find it difficult to break the habit of being spoon-fed the news." During the Marcos regime, the lack of press freedom gave journalists an easy excuse for not doing in-depth, investigative stories. Today, one wonders just how many journalists have the appropriate skills for that kind of reporting. If more investigative reporting is not done, it is not for a lack of issues: hidden wealth, human rights abuses, the communist insurgency, graft and corruption...all are stories worth doing in depth.

It may be that the present orientation of journalists is part of the unwanted legacy of the past. Fourteen years of repression stifled not only the investigative capacities but also the imagination of Filipino journalists. As the former president of the National Press Club of the Philippines noted, during the Marcos years the press was incapable of fostering young talent to take over from their seniors. This was manifest when press freedom was restored: semi-retired and expatriate journalists had to be pressed back into active duty to provide staff for the new publications.

"The press destabilized by rumour."



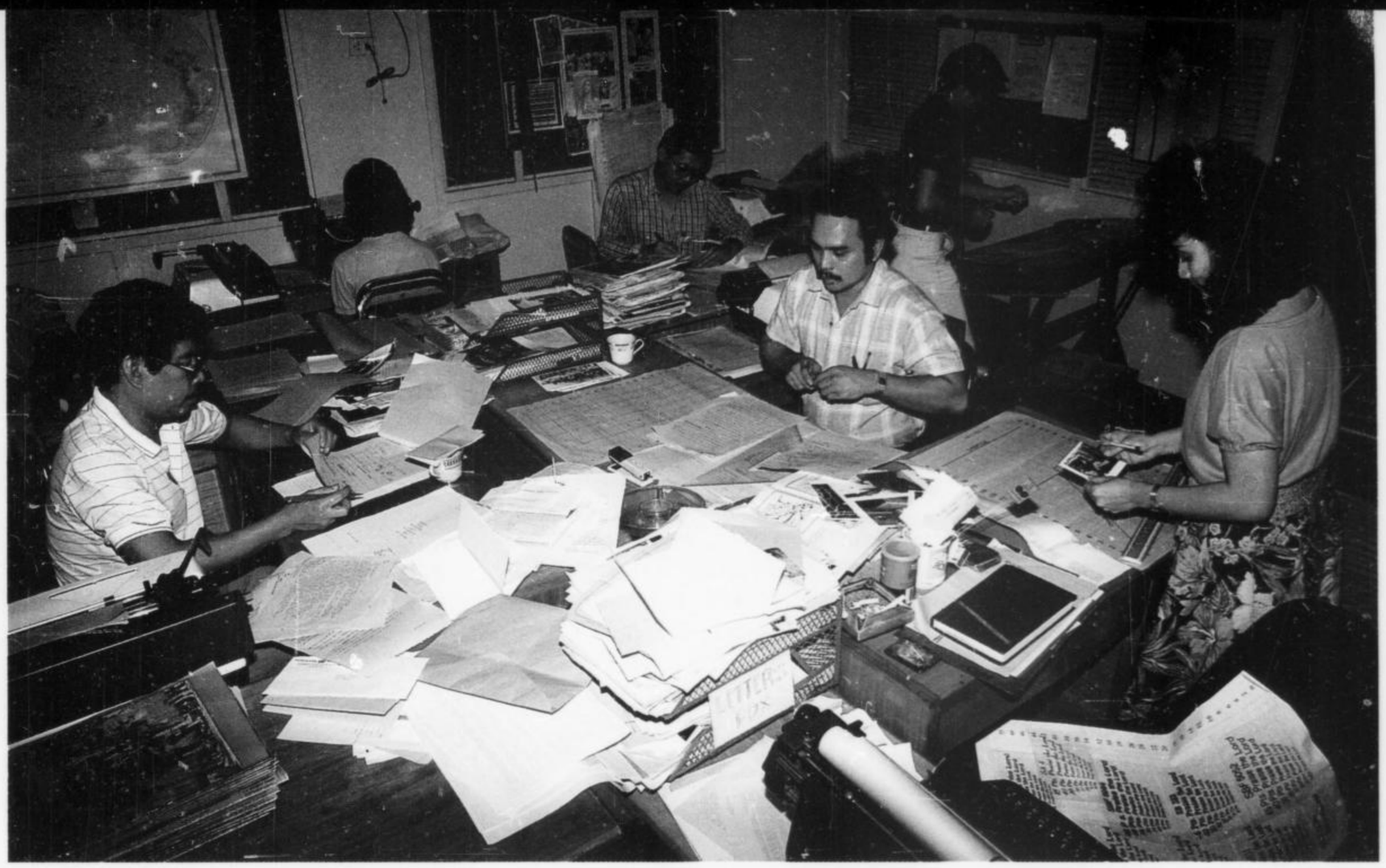
Freedom on the airwaves

Traditionally, radio and television were entertainment oriented, but during the February revolution stations became deeply involved in covering the fast-changing political situation. This departure in favour of the news did not last much beyond the change of regime, though announcers will now cut into regular programmes to cover major national events.

The same mixed loyalties—to Marcos or to the new regime—can be found among radio and television commentators. Unfortunately, they are also open to the same kinds of criticism as the press. Some radio stations loyal to Marcos have been accused of "abusing freedom of expression", to the point of polarizing the population. Even the government-operated station has been taxed with subjective reporting and, in some instances, of systematically taking an anti-government stance.

Concerned citizens have raised the issue, complaining of licentious and even seditious use of the airwaves. "Distortion, libel and sedition are rife in the broadcasting industry", noted a leading columnist of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* who attributed this deplorable situation to "overcrowding". There are 308 radio stations and 44 television stations, owned and operated by 96 companies. Of these, the government operates 25 radio stations nationwide and one television network. As a result, station managers tend to choose "the more sensational broadcasters, who attack the government instead of trying to maintain a balanced newscast".

Another unhealthy practice in radio and sometimes in television is the selling of blocktime, whereby the station sells a set number of



The newsroom of a Filipino journal.

minutes or hours to an independent producer. This has led certain unscrupulous broadcasters to accept funds from politicians and use the time to attack their opponents.

The new government has been caught between its seemingly sincere desire to foster freedom of information and the need to protect the democratic regime that was established by the 1986 revolution. Almost all the editors interviewed for this study stated that there is no government censorship in the Philippines today. There have been a number of cases, however, that show how fragile freedom can be and how great the temptation to intervene.

A journalist working for the DYEC People Power station, for example, claimed that the management temporarily suspended him for advocating land reform on his programme. According to him, the landlords in question, who also happen to own many businesses in the area, threatened to withdraw advertising. When newsmen questioned the validity of official figures on cases of cholera, the minister of health refused to give statistics, claiming that they might adversely affect export industries. And many observers believe that there have been attempts to withhold information concerning aborted coups. In 1986, cases were reported, then denied, only to be confirmed later, to the confusion of the public.

Yet no one can accuse the present government of arresting or killing journalists. Cases of harassment and intimidation have generally concerned government media, and cases of withholding information are usually about financial matters.

It is worth noting that when the new government took control of a number of broadcasting stations, it had no clear-cut policy on their role and functions. In the aftermath of the revolution, people were anxious to exercise their newfound freedom. The management of the government stations either took no notice or actually condoned criticism of the government and official personalities as part of the newly regained "democratic space".

Thus, as various sectors of society attempted to destabilize the Aquino administration, the government found itself helpless. It could not even count on the state media as allies. When government station managers decided to dismiss a number of overly critical commentators, the latter accused the government of censorship.

The government justified its position by invoking the sanctity of employer-employee loyalty. Whoever wishes to criticize the government should first leave government service and join the privately-owned media. But this position inevitably raises a question: to whom do journalists working on state-owned media owe their loyalty? To government officials only? Or to the public as well, who pay the taxes needed to keep these stations operating? Do journalists working for state-owned media not have a duty to respect the public's right to full information?

To answer these questions, it could be said that criticism of the government can be seen as self-criticism; its aim is to improve government service and not to malign it. However, it cannot be denied that there have been cases of intentional maliciousness designed to destabilize the government. The secretary of state for the press summed up the situation well: in his opinion, criticism of the government is permissible so long as presentation is fair and balanced. If this policy is faithfully implemented by the government and by the media, then the issue of censorship in the government media can one day be laid to rest. ■

Extract from a study by the Asian Institute of Journalism, published in *The Vigilant Press: a collection of case studies*, No. 103 of Unesco's *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication* series, Paris, 1989. The study was carried out by Concepcion L. Madarang, Reynaldo P. Monreal, Elizabeth K. Dimasuay, Maria Teresa R. Robles and Floranel Rosario Braid (consultant), under the direction of Ramon R. Tuazon.

USSR: the thaw

CHERNOBYL BEFORE AND AFTER

by Vassil Plioutch
Deputy Editor of *Literaturna Ukrayina*, Kiev

THE weekly magazine *Literaturna Ukrayina* was not part of the clandestine press and does not date from the age of perestroika. It was founded in 1927, but it remained virtually unknown in the West until 26 April 1986, the date of the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

A month before the accident, *Literaturna Ukrayina* had published a highly-critical article on the faults of the plant and the lack of respect paid to technical standards during its construction. The author of the article and the editorial staff were inundated with indignant complaints. They were accused of malice and of trying to undermine the reputation of hard-working engineers. What saved them from the serious consequences which might have followed publication of this article was...the catastrophe itself! The same cannot be said, alas, of the thousands of Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Russians who were bombarded with radioactive dust. But today the whole world knows that story.

We can now see how cramped our common European home is, and how fragile and vulnerable are the peace and happiness within it. There is no need to erect a barrier of medium-range missiles to see it go up in smoke. A moment of carelessness in the supposedly peaceful use of the atom is enough. What is the point, in a country like France, of painstakingly equipping nuclear plants with a double or triple security system, when the slightest act of negligence committed elsewhere is enough to spark off a general catastrophe? Take it from me, as a man working at Kiev, 120 km from the plant, who receives a daily dose of radiation: I have first-hand knowledge of the tragedy of the sick children for whom Canada sent a second plane-load of medication, and of the incredible difficulties in certain districts of Kiev and Jitomir—which were not included in the security zone around the plant and which, four years later, are having to be urgently evacuated...

In such circumstances, journalists' courage and public-spiritedness will never be sufficiently appreciated. We know from personal experience what they can accomplish. After the Chernobyl catastrophe, our magazine was so successful in mobilizing opinion on ecological problems that we managed to bring about the closure of a nuclear power plant built on a tectonic fault in the Crimea, as well as have work stopped on the Chiguirinsk plant on the banks of the Dnieper River, the source of water for 35 million people. ■

Extract from a contribution to the Informal East-West Press Meeting held at Unesco Headquarters, Paris, 27-28 February 1990.

Three days after the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the USSR, a photographer flies over the site.

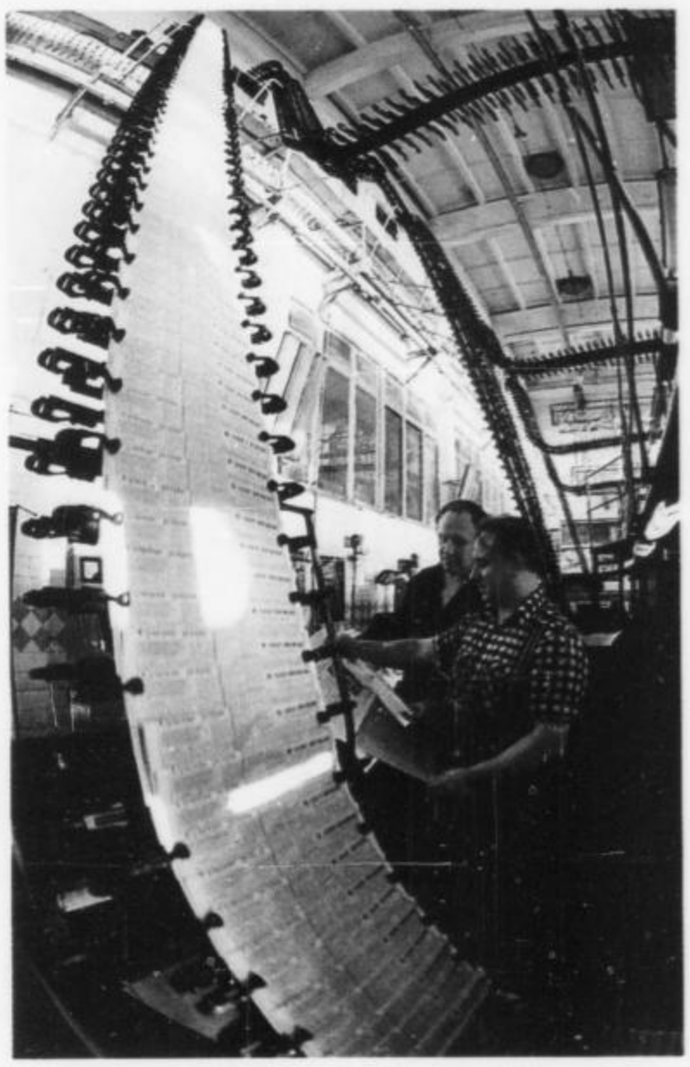
THE BURDEN OF FEAR

by Vitali Korotich
Editor-in-chief of
Ogoniok, Moscow

In 1986, our magazine had less than 300,000 subscribers. Today, there are 4.5 million. It is the kind of magazine that can only exist in a country where the government is inefficient. We receive an enormous quantity of letters which people should send to government ministers, if they had confidence in them. Instead they write to us, journalists who work for the popular press and, within an unstable power structure, bear the enormous burden of responsibility for what is going on in the country.

People are still living in fear. They are paralysed with fear. I think that if Unesco organized a conference on hatred, all that hatred which has brought together or divided Europe, much would be learned. Societies have been built on hatred and contempt for those who live differently. Only very slowly will we be able to free ourselves from hatred and fear.

In Eastern Europe we stopped taking an interest in each other decades ago. For a very long time, what was happening in Poland, Czechoslovakia or Bulgaria was of no interest to Soviet readers. Now that we are facing up to reality, it is important that we should understand one another, that we should approach each other in a new way. We must help one another to safeguard our newly-acquired freedom for, it must be emphasized, the conservative forces understand one another much better than do those who aspire to democratic reforms.



A Soviet evening paper rolls off the press.

We need newspapers and magazines which could circulate freely in several countries at the same time. It seems to me essential that we should start producing European TV programmes right away. This is highly relevant to the immediate problem of our survival and the attitude we ought to have towards one another.

As yet we have no law on the press in our country. As in some other countries, much depends on the goodwill of the people and on that of the authorities. We must fight to obtain coherent legislation to guarantee the freedom of the press, which is still subject to censorship and other pressures. We are also facing serious material problems, such as a lack of paper. The weekly *Argumenty i Fakty*, which with a print-run of 33 million has the largest circulation of any magazine in the world, is regularly unable to supply hundreds of thousands of its subscribers through lack of newsprint. When the circulation of our magazine began to rise we had to reduce the number of pages and colour inserts. And although it is supposed to be a weekly, it actually takes over a week to print, with the result that it appears after our publication date. We are told that this is the printer's fault, which is probably true, but it worries me to see technical problems like these hindering the progress of democracy today. ■

Extract from a contribution to the Informal East-West Press Meeting held at Unesco Headquarters, Paris, 27-28 February 1990.

'WE LOOK INTO THE FUTURE WITH APPREHENSION AND HOPE'

by Ivan T. Frolov
Editor-in-chief of
Pravda, Moscow

More than ever before, an honest word freely spoken has a special value for us today.... Even the most bitter truth can motivate people to perform great feats, while gift-wrapped lies peddled by the media can breed nothing but apathy. When words do not square with everyday reality, they can cause a painful dualism in the public mind and breed hypocrisy and double standards.

The objective of perestroika, or restructuring, in the Soviet Union is not only to overhaul the economy and improve the social situation but to cure the moral ills of society. The mass media have a special role to play in this new situation.... Every newspaper, magazine, radio programme and TV network should stimulate discussion of the most sensitive issues in the life of society. Recent developments have not been uncontroversial and not all editors welcome their new-found freedom. Many topics considered taboo in the past are now being widely debated, but the low level of culture and lack of civic responsibility provoke destructive urges and sow confusion in the minds of people rather than motivating them to constructive action.

Pravda is published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and its main objective in the conditions of glasnost, or openness, is to keep its readers informed about the life of the Party both at grass-roots level and at the top.... We had to overcome a lot of opposition before the paper began to provide extensive coverage of meetings of the Politburo, the supreme organ of the Central Committee, on a regular basis. In a totally unprecedented development, the paper published a verbatim report of the February 1990 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, which was marked by a heated discussion of the most sensitive issues in the life of the country. We are convinced that this was the right thing to do. We trust our readers and do not want to conceal difficult problems. Genuine freedom of speech is unthinkable without genuine trust between a newspaper and its readership.

Our main objective is to promote innovative ideas generated by perestroika, the policy of the Communist Party and the moral revival of society.... Our readers expect us to tell them the truth, complete and undisguised, and we should avoid sensationalism. In fact Pravda—which means "truth"—should speak with the voice of truth as Lenin understood the word....

What are the prospects for the future and for the last decade of the twentieth century? What new developments can we expect this year? We look into the future with apprehension and hope. We are concerned because many acute problems have not been resolved. The most pressing problems are to cure the country's ailing economy, improve the situation for consumers, defuse social tensions and resolve ethnic conflicts.

But we believe that there is hope too, and it is not just wishful thinking. This hope is sustained by the success of perestroika and the real changes brought about by the political and economic reforms and a new moral climate in the country. ■

Eastern Europe

Turning

Restrictions on the freedom of information have been lifted progressively in Poland, but media pluralism still lies in the future

***Golgotha* (1966), a poster by Piotr Bednarski, Poland.**

a new page

by Karol Jakubowicz

Detail from a frieze of paintings in the Gdansk hall where the first clandestine congress of Solidarity was held in 1981.

As the American sociologist Jeffrey C. Goldfarb has pointed out, totalitarianism is best understood as the *cultural* form necessary for modern tyranny. The Stalinist power structure sought to subsume the totality of culture in order to impose what Orwell called "thought control". When that proved unattainable, at least in Poland, the goal of "cognitive control" was pursued instead. It was assumed that if people had access only to officially sanctioned news and views, a sufficient degree of control over their thinking could be exercised, at least in public. The private sphere did not matter so much, as long as it was kept private.

One way of achieving this was by "semantic control". As Adam Michnik, a leading opposition thinker, has put it: "The communists who arrived at the end of the Second World War succeeded in imposing false solutions because they succeeded in imposing their language." It was a political language, constructed to automatically reproduce and perpetuate Communist Party domination. Inability or unwillingness to use that language created a "silence barrier" which precluded successful participation in political life.

Of course, only hermits could avoid functioning in both public and private spheres and using both languages, at least to some extent. The kind of individual and collective schizophrenia that this produced has to be experienced to be believed.

Yet, except in the early 1950s, official thinking was never completely imposed. Firstly, Polish media always provided extensive information on developments in the Western world, and Polish television has for two decades now offered just about every Western programme, series or film it could afford to buy and which was not blatantly anti-communist. Secondly, magazines and newspapers (including one daily) published by the Roman Catholic Church or by Catholic organizations, as well as other Churches and denominations, have always provided a channel for the expression of dissident views on all matters of importance to the Polish people. Finally, since 1976 Poland has had a rich profusion of underground publishers of magazines and books which openly questioned the legitimacy of the country's political system.

Thus the unofficial private sphere obstinately refused to stay private. It kept intruding into the official one—and now it has taken over.

Dismantling the monopoly

"Observance of the constitutional principles of freedom of speech and publication" featured prominently in third place on the list of twenty-one demands addressed to the government by Gdansk shipyard workers in August 1980 during the strike which provided the impetus for the birth of the Solidarity movement. A policy document adopted at Solidarity's first congress in 1981 came out in favour of the "socialization of the media": "The media of social communication are the property of society and must serve the entire society and operate under its control." Other concepts put forward by Solidarity, such as "access to the media" and "communication as empowerment", combine respect for the right to communicate as a basic human right and a means of satisfying a fundamental social need.

When liberalization of the media system finally began in 1988, it was prompted by the desire of a weakening communist system to compromise without giving up control of the major means of communication. These reforms consisted mainly of:

1) changing the law to make possible the emergence of a licensed and supervised private and/or commercial sector in such areas as book and newspaper publishing and film production;

2) lifting the many politically-motivated restrictions on what could be said in the official media;

3) accepting and creating legal and technical conditions for the flow of foreign media content into the country (from satellite television, or from foreign radio stations whose jamming had already been stopped by then).

This was hardly enough, however, and so when the round table conference between the government and the opposition took place in spring 1989, Solidarity went back to its original demands for a radical reform of the media system. The government adopted a dual policy: more liberal with regard to the print media, and much tougher with regard to broadcasting. As a result,

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publishers no longer needed a licence from the censorship office to launch a newspaper or periodical—registration of its existence was enough. Censorship was liberalized and many publications were exempted (especially scholarly journals and those published by organizations). Newsprint allocation was to end in 1990, as indeed it has.

As regards the broadcasting media, however, the government insisted on retaining both its monopoly and the institutional controls over them. Solidarity gained access to air time, but only in the form of weekly 45-minute programmes on national radio and television. Later, the Roman Catholic Church signed an agreement with Polish Radio and TV which gave it more extensive access to both national and regional stations.

When the Solidarity-led government was formed in autumn 1989, the media monopoly was thus still intact, as was the apparatus of censorship—to say nothing of the legal underpinnings of the system. If freedom of speech and of information were to prevail, all that had to be eliminated.

As far as the print media were concerned, the Communist Party's main tool for maintaining control was a huge publishing and media conglomerate, RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, nominally a co-operative but in fact run by the Party itself and serving as its main source of finance. In its heyday it published 47 per cent of press titles in Poland, including 70 per cent of the total circulation of daily and weekly newspapers. It also monopolized press distribution, ran all the newsstands, operated a number of publishing houses, press agencies, printing plants and so on. The conglomerate has now been dissolved by act of parliament, and a special commission is developing a plan on the disposal of its extensive holdings. All the newspapers and periodicals once published by the conglomerate are now free to go their own way. They can transform themselves into co-operatives of their own staff, join with others into larger entities, seek publishers—and stand or fall on their own merits.

Another act of parliament has abolished censorship. If a newspaper or other publication breaks the law under the penal code, it can of course be hauled before a court, but otherwise there are no formal or institutional limitations on freedom of speech.

The final vestige of the old system of cognitive control, state monopoly of broadcasting, is doomed to extinction very soon. Monopoly is to be abolished and licences will be granted to as many broadcasters as there are frequencies available.

A new challenge

The rapid social and economic changes in post-communist countries have created an unusually high level of need for opportunities for active communication, especially in the field of politics. On the one hand, the many emerging political parties and groups are seeking support among the population at large. On the other, individuals are becoming politically active as they try to affect the reshaping of the political and social system. Also, a profusion of publishing and broadcasting ventures, not necessarily political, have sprung up as many individuals and groups seek to exercise the freedom of expression long denied them. Their financial viability remains to be tested, however, now that there are no subsidies or cross-subsidies within larger media organizations.

Recognition of freedom of speech and information, and removal of restrictions on them, amounts only to what might be called a negative means of creating the conditions to satisfy the need to communicate. The traditional Western concept of freedom of speech, now espoused also in post-communist countries, allows that freedom to be realized within the means at the disposal of each individual or group, making it the freedom of the well-to-do—freedom of the press for those who own it.

Thus excessive deregulation, sometimes conducted in the name of removing *all* restrictions on freedom of speech, may be counterproductive. In addition to promoting the birth and possible dominance of commercial media, it also lays the media system open to yet another threat: infiltration and takeover or control by foreign capital.

The truly democratic society should recognize its obligation to provide all its members with the ways and means of exercising the right to communicate. Therefore, the challenge before Poland and other post-communist countries is to develop a positive, active policy of promoting democratic and pluralistic media policies and systems. This requires a commitment to support or subsidize the founding or running of press and broadcasting media by minorities and groups with insufficient resources. Also needed is a new definition of a public information service, no longer as one-way communication from the top down, but as pluralistic and constructive dialogue.

If these policies are adopted, the media system of post-communist countries will encompass three sectors:

- a financially secure system of public service broadcasting, fully capable of discharging its obligations towards society;
- socially-motivated privately or collectively owned media speaking for, on behalf of, or to various groups, parties, organizations, minorities, and regional communities, assisted where necessary out of public funds in line with policies publicly defined and open to review;
- commercial media.

All three sectors are necessary in a fully developed media system. If Poland and other post-communist countries can find a way to ensure their existence, they will be blazing a trail for other countries to follow. ■

by Morten Giersing

Symbol of freedom on a Belgian wall.

MORTEN GIERSING
is chief of the section of free flow of information and communications research in Unesco's Communication Development and Free Flow of Information Division.

Unesco and freedom of expression

FREEDOM of expression is not an option but a fundamental human right. It is affirmed in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and also set forth in the Preamble to the Declaration in these terms: "...the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people...".

Freedom of expression goes hand in hand with freedom of information. Without access to news and knowledge, it is a limited concept. This is why press and media freedom is organically linked to these basic freedoms.

Certain traditions of press freedom undoubtedly reflect historic developments in specific countries. The subsidies given to newspapers in some northern European countries—ostensibly to secure press diversity—would be seen in other parts of the world, for example in the United States, as questionable governmental interference.

However, across all the differences, the concept of press freedom does have a core meaning, which commits all societies. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Unesco's Constitution reflects this universal commitment in its first article, which stipulates that to realize its purpose the Organization will "Collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image."

The principle of "free flow of information" presupposes the ability of all parties to produce information. This has been reflected in Unesco's communication programme by the unquestioned priority given to the improvement of communication capacities in the developing countries. The major elements of this programme are assistance to national and regional news agencies, notably through the Southern and Eastern Africa News Agencies Development project (SEANAD), and its sister projects in West Africa (WANAD) and the Caribbean (CANAD); the development of broadcasting, from the community level to regional and international exchanges; the setting up of rural newspapers; and professional training schemes.

But should the "free flow" be accompanied by initiatives to ensure a "balance"—of different viewpoints or of different information sources? This question has given rise to much controversy.

Throughout the 1980s, Unesco spoke of "a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information". But fears were expressed that the Organization's initiatives to "better balance" information flows could impinge on press freedom.

In its new Medium-Term Plan, covering the years 1990-1995, a formulation was agreed on which Unesco hoped would dispel all misunderstandings. It underlined Unesco's attachment to an uncompromising "free flow of information" and took great care that every reference to initiatives to "balance" flows was immediately followed by an assurance that this should occur "without any obstacle to freedom of expression". A key paragraph in Unesco's Communication in the Service of Humanity Programme expresses the position in this way:

"...the concern of the Organization is to ensure a free flow of information at international as well as national levels, and its wider and better balanced dissemination, without any obstacle to the freedom of expression, and to strengthen communication capacities in the developing countries, so that they may participate more actively in the communication process."

Recent activities in this area include the publication of a collection of case studies on *The Vigilant Press* and a global survey on *The Protection of Sources*. A third international study on the impact of new communication technologies on information pluralism is forthcoming, and a worldwide survey of journalists' access to information will be launched in 1991.

While studies and reporting are important tools in bringing press freedom questions to the forefront of the international media debate, real advances can be measured only in the actual progress of independent media worldwide. The recent emergence of an independent press in Eastern Europe was promptly met by an informal East-West meeting of editors and journalists convened by Unesco early in 1990. The meeting has since led to several practical initiatives, especially in the area of journalism and management training, and a parallel event on independent media in Africa is scheduled for late 1990.

Unesco's commitment to freedom of expression, reconfirmed and revitalized in recent months, is a fundamental part of its mandate. The defence of press freedom requires constant alertness. The situation is not new; it was realized two hundred years ago at the dawn of modern democracy, when the distinguished Irish statesman John Philpot Curran made his renowned observation: "The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance." ■

Media empires: a necessary evil?

by Joseph Fitchett

Giant media groups have masterminded a technological revolution with some unexpected spin-offs

THE emergence of media mega-groups is one of the striking features of our age. Sometimes national, often international, these conglomerates dwarf the biggest media operations of previous generations. Sometimes they attain a position close to horizontal dominance in publishing or broadcasting in a region or even a nation. Sometimes they strive for vertical integration, with holdings in every sector of an industry. This concentration means that they are fewer in number and therefore stand out from their competitors. As a result, debate about the proper functioning of the press seems likely to focus in the next few years on the role of these media empires.

In the 1980s, international debate about the media was dominated by quarrels over censorship and press freedom. This agenda among media-watchers seems to be losing urgency now that the Soviet bloc has largely abandoned ideological confrontation and started to pay at least lip service to the values of Western democracy. In this sense, the West has "won" the battle against press regulation in favour of a concept closer to a free market for the media.

But these quarrels about the power of a free press have been buried by events, not settled. Sooner or later, we will have to look again at the self-congratulatory euphoria among some Western commentators, who say that changes in Eastern Europe can be "explained" by the impact of communications and therefore of the press. In practice, it is hard to find any evidence that changes in Eastern Europe, Central America or China owed much to the role of the local press.

Western electronic media, by conveying developments in different Eastern European countries, undoubtedly heartened opponents of the regimes in these countries. But "press freedom" was a rather insignificant part of a larger symbolic image of "Western" freedom and prosperity. Extravagant claims about the role of the media in the revolutionary changes of 1989 must be put on a par with French leaders' habit of dwelling on the coincidence that the changes last year occurred simultaneously with celebrations to mark the bicentenary of the French Revolution.

Multi-media groups of a new kind

The issue has already been spotlighted from another angle in the 1990s: the power of media groups. Seen by some as a new evil empire, they may be a necessary evil of our time.

Ironically, the end of the Cold War has brought about the destruction of the great media empires that rose and fell in communist-run nations. So concern has shifted to the role of Western capitalists forging multi-media groups of spectacular size and transnational scale. Incidentally, some of these Western press groups are seeking a major role in redeveloping the media in Eastern Europe.

Many of the old familiar questions—in short, what kind of media is good for you?—will be articulated anew, this time around an emerging trend in the West to concentrate the media in fewer, bigger holdings. As we try to get to grips with this phenomenon, some fundamental questions need to be asked. Is the trend inevitable? Will it enhance or undermine freedom? What will improve quality and what will weaken it?

The headlines tell the story, often in a confused manner, of a fundamental trend toward media empires of a new kind. Typical flashes show developments such as media magnates Rupert Murdoch and Robert Maxwell trying to fuse newspapers and television; the Japanese company Sony and the American media giant, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), bridging remote cultures; international alliances fighting for control of French television; technical standards converging to allow global broadcasting.

At the start of the 1980s, the media were glaring exceptions to the overall pattern of restructuring that was being forced on all the traditional sectors in industrialized democracies. Technology had come to the end of a cycle, with satellite broadcasting finally ready to challenge the traditional ways of doing business. In many cases, the inroads of television had driven newspaper revenues and profits to an all-time low. Magazines, caught in their old formats, needed to be massively overhauled and renewed. Even news agencies were unable to survive unless they created new kinds of businesses, a notable example being the spectacular success of Reuters in developing electronic financial services.

To survive this transitional period, smash through old habits, bring in new technology and usher in a new era, the Western media concentrated their assets into fewer, stronger companies designed to weather the storms of change. Was it necessarily the best approach? Perhaps there was no alternative.

The lesson of the 1980s

A major lesson of the 1980s was that any enterprise needed to operate on a vast scale in order to prosper in a period of global economic mutation. New technologies seemed to be crackling to life like an exploding boxcar of ammunition. Markets were being redrawn as people's habits changed under the impact of revolutions in transportation and communications. Suddenly people in Tokyo and São Paulo, New Delhi and New York, Lagos and Johannesburg, wanted and expected to consume the same products, from Japanese-made transistor radios to world-class entertainment or information services.

Instead of buying radios packaged differently in each country in order to appeal to local sensibilities, customers all over the planet turned to the severe black boxes that were a Sony trademark and—against the prevailing wisdom about marketing—had caught on as a selling point. The

attractions of the readily recognizable, familiar local product evaporated under the impact of standardized products. Television around the world lost much of its local flavour as international products gained more air time.

Analysing this new, fiercer international competition, specialists frequently used the word "entrepreneurial", meaning that success required new ideas from dedicated inventors. The stress on individual vision and dedication was a refreshing reminder of virtues such as initiative and readiness to run risks.

To have lasting success, however, an entrepreneur needed to be able to sell quickly into a large market so that he earned enough to expand. This concern about the size of the market was the driving force behind the European Community's commitment in 1985 to develop a Europe-wide single market by 1992. The need for continuous innovation was even a factor in new Soviet thinking that recognized the need to break down an empire that was not working in order to obtain greater diversity of expression and, it is to be hoped, release more energies.

In most industrialized countries, which do not have media monopolies, change ran in the opposite direction. Concerned about being able to compete profitably, media owners pursued a visionary concept of expanding their markets across borders and across sectors, and many of them sought to diversify their investments in ways intended to provide profitable synergies. In France, the publishing group Hachette dreamed of creating an almost self-sustaining circle of news media and magazines, publishing, television, films and even space technology. The plan, to caricature it only slightly, was that news coverage would produce stories, which could be turned into books and then into documentaries or films which could be transmitted by satellite.

A global market

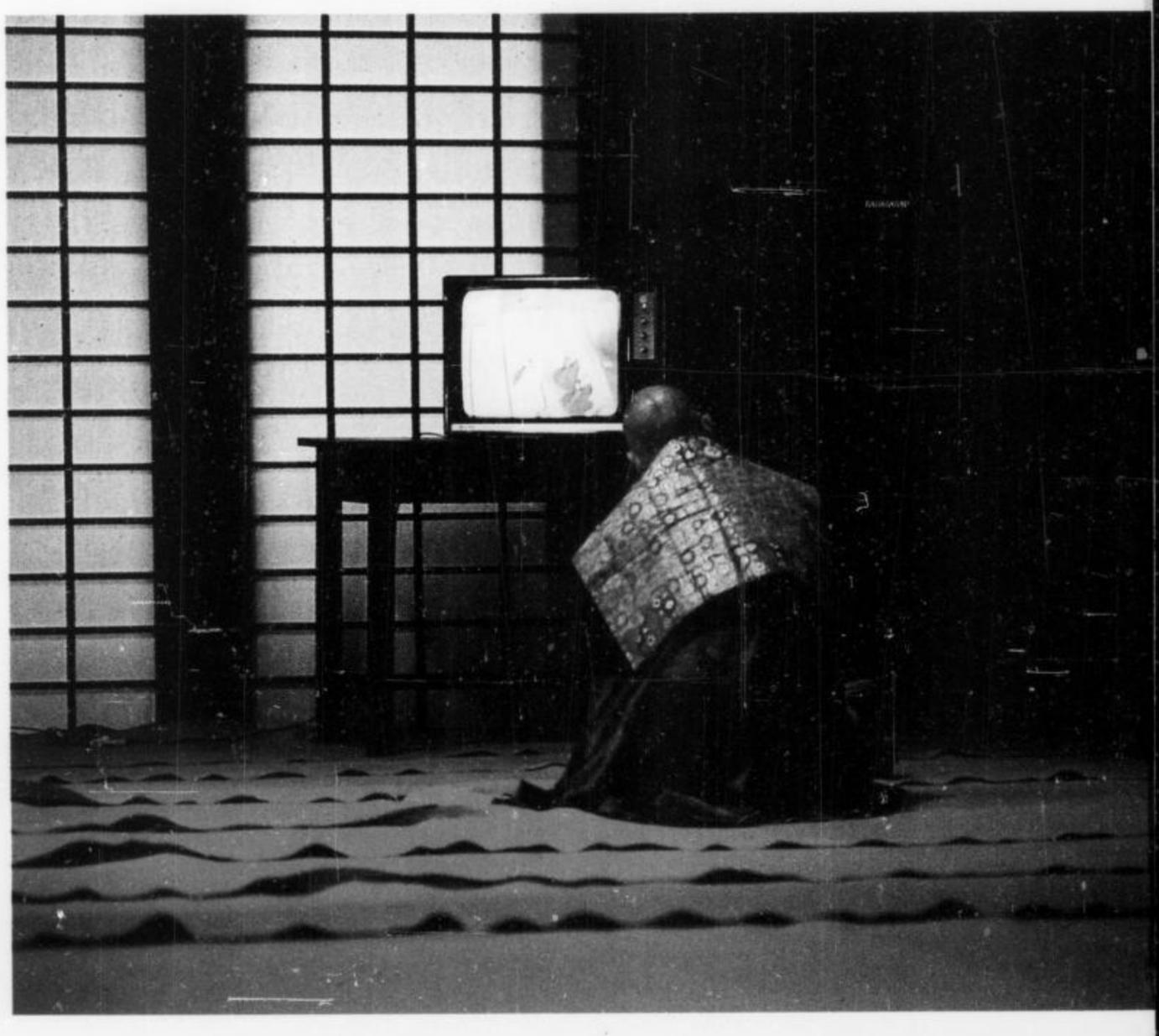
Similar visions spurred the rise of similarly ambitious media groups in many countries including Britain and Italy, Japan and India, Brazil and the United States. The trend was perhaps pursued more boldly in Europe than elsewhere: despite the obstacles of overcoming language barriers, Europeans were under greater pressure to develop a single market large enough to recoup the investments needed to compete—in magazines or television, films or even journalism—in the global market.

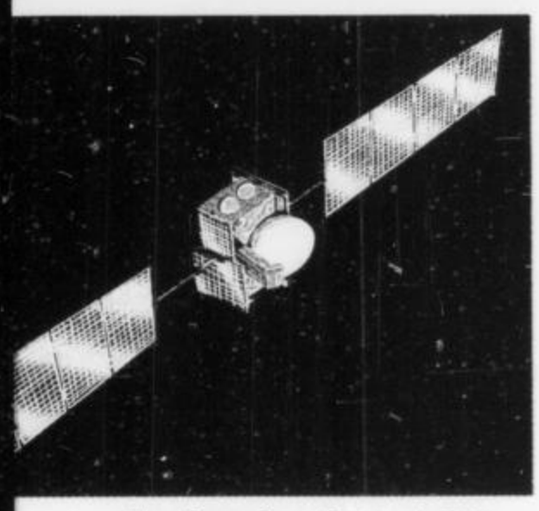
In the United States and Japan, these pressures have, on the whole, concentrated media ownership in fewer, stronger hands: in Europe, on the whole, they have helped to forge alliances among different types of media holdings. In both cases, the objective is to mobilize enough resources to survive the transition and emerge in a strong position for the late 1990s.

Beyond their capacity for survival, the emerging large media groups can be credited with many benefits, of which the most important is unquestionably innovation. This may sound paradoxical after so many attacks on media groups accusing them of standardizing their products and pitching them at the lowest level to obtain the largest market, but in the process they often develop technology that restores the autonomy of new, smaller and stronger competitors.

Large media groups were instrumental in creating a global market for video cassettes that contributed to a crisis in the movie industry, especially outside Hollywood. Today, revenues from cassettes exceed the box office earnings from most films, but the cassette market has provided a major new revenue source for the industry, especially for films intended for smaller, specialized audiences.

Even films with strong local appeal in their country of origin were threatened, as the cost of movie-making grew too high for a single country to offer a big enough potential market. Now minority-interest film-makers have more opportunities to find investment backing because of the additional potential revenue from the video market.





The broadcasting satellite Astra.

Invariably, innovations involve large investments, to pay for the new technology and sustain it long enough for the public to adopt it. By mobilizing funds, the big media groups have been the midwives to a global explosion of specialized magazines on subjects ranging from travel and women's interests to sexually titillating "true stories" or computer services available by telephone. With German investors now dominating key sectors in the French market for periodicals and European proprietors and products making big inroads in the US market, there can be no doubt that the improved overall performance of magazines owes a great deal to the intensified international competition between giant media groups.

Two innovations stand out in any evaluation of the impact of these mega-groups. The successful campaign to introduce new printing technology in Europe must be largely credited to the single-handed determination of Rupert Murdoch, the Australian-born publisher whose main business is now in London. After taking over *The Times,* London's venerable mainstream newspaper, Murdoch introduced electronic production instead of traditional type-setting, defying the unions that had prevented other British papers from switching to the new technology.

It was a daring gamble, risking financial disaster and even violence, but Murdoch rode out the unions' siege. His costly victory transformed the economic outlook for the whole industry. If *The Times* could be produced on computers, without typesetters, so could other newspapers. As a result, funds quickly emerged for a new quality daily—the first such fresh start in Fleet Street since the Second World War—and *The Independent* has become *The Times*'s toughest competitor.

The impact of Murdoch's victory has echoed beyond Britain, helping newspapers large and small in other Western European countries to keep pace with other industries that have had to override union objections to job-killing technology.

Televiewing in Japan (left) and Egypt (right).

When the media make the news

The repercussions have been just as great from a second innovation that could only have come from a media group with deep enough pockets to pay for high-flying visions: the Cable News Network (CNN) of Turner Broadcasting. By using satellites for worldwide, round-the-clock broadcasting of news, CNN has revolutionized our sense of the pace of history and news-gathering. Government officials take account of what they call the "CNN factor", meaning that CNN coverage of breaking news is capable of turning an event into a global issue almost instantaneously.

As CNN broadcasts pictures of a press conference or a natural disaster somewhere in the world, capitals everywhere else are immediately involved. Stock markets oscillate, parliamentary questions are asked, the press starts speculating. It seems clear already that CNN—and the quickened pace of all media coverage that CNN has stimulated—is starting to play a role in shaping the outcome of events. Even if the international media do not initiate the great human movements that make history, the coverage—instantaneous, near to saturation, heavily larded with comment—has created a new matrix in which diplomacy must operate. Because of their size, the big media groups have great potential for safeguarding the role of the press. A big, rich and diversified publisher can stand up to the pressures of a single advertiser or group of advertisers—or even to a government. In an era when many nations' budgets are no larger than the funds available to drug traffickers or even terrorists, it is reassuring that some of the press is rich and powerful enough to withstand bribery. Similarly, big media organizations have the resources to help protect their journalists, so the freedom of the press—to get the news and publish it—benefits from their power.

But the big media groups have often failed

to use their potential to improve quality. The pattern of awards for public-service journalism in the United States clearly reveals the strength of smaller, independent papers in this respect. In covering news of planetary concern—ecological and other global trends, problems in developing countries, defence of human rights—the establishment press, despite its resources, has often trailed behind smaller, more concerned specialists.

Size, by its very nature, seems to blunt the sense of individual initiative that so often is the source of history-making journalism. Small newspapers, not big media groups, often break new ground with stories of corruption, pollution or surprising shifts in public attitudes because they are close to the local situations. Such stories are often pivotal precisely because they are not on the agenda of the politicians, whose daily activities are the focus of the metropolitan newspapers.

Although the big media have the stature to protect their journalists, they rarely endanger themselves, either physically or politically. In Japan, for example, which has the world's largest-selling newspapers, reporters operate in press clubs that suppress much of the news, and none of the newspapers runs the risk of providing more independent coverage. Even in Britain, few newspapers have ever rebelled against the system of government briefing, known as the lobby, that prevents reporters from identifying the source of news stories.

The return of quality journalism

Many journalists have found it frustrating to work in organizations run by media magnates such as Rupert Murdoch in Britain or Robert Hersant in France. For example, *The Times* is reportedly suffering because Mr. Murdoch's funds are being heavily drained by his satellite television venture, Sky Channel. Similarly, in France, the need to put together large groups of investors for expensive ventures, such as a television channel, means that multiple political influences are at work in the media.

Even government intervention, which in France plays a substantial role in decisions about who runs newspapers and broadcasting stations, has been ineffective in imposing any guarantees about the quality and variety of the content of publications or programming. While the new technology offers the potential of a closer match between media and public by bringing specialized audiences within commercial reach, so far it has not noticeably improved the media.

In terms of sheer economic efficiency, there is mounting evidence that the media behemoth, far from being a new kind of animal that benefits from cross-connections among its different limbs, is liable to prove an inefficient and wasteful creature with little sense of direction.

The Berlin headquarters of the German media magnate Axel Springer.

The future, once thought to be bringing mega-corporations that would provide a full entertainment cycle starting with the raw material of events, seems more likely to bring smaller units—newspapers and magazines, television production companies, film-makers, publishers—that excel in their own specialities. They can exploit the new technology to operate profitably in domains and markets once thought uneconomic.

Similar prospects exist for the media in countries with little tradition of modern communications. Often accused of squeezing small countries and weakly defended cultures from the international consciousness, the media groups—by forging international markets and developing cheaper technology—have opened up wider perspectives in which newcomers in the press and in entertainment can make themselves heard. And the strength of the local press in any country will be a decisive factor in determining how much and how well the rest of the world follows affairs there.

To break the constricting old order, we needed nothing less than the mega-power of the huge consortia, dedicated to their balance sheets, to mobilize the vast funds to transform media technology and markets. It was a necessary evil, imposing the new technologies that, in turn, will give back the media to writers and publishers whose first loyalty is to their audiences. ■

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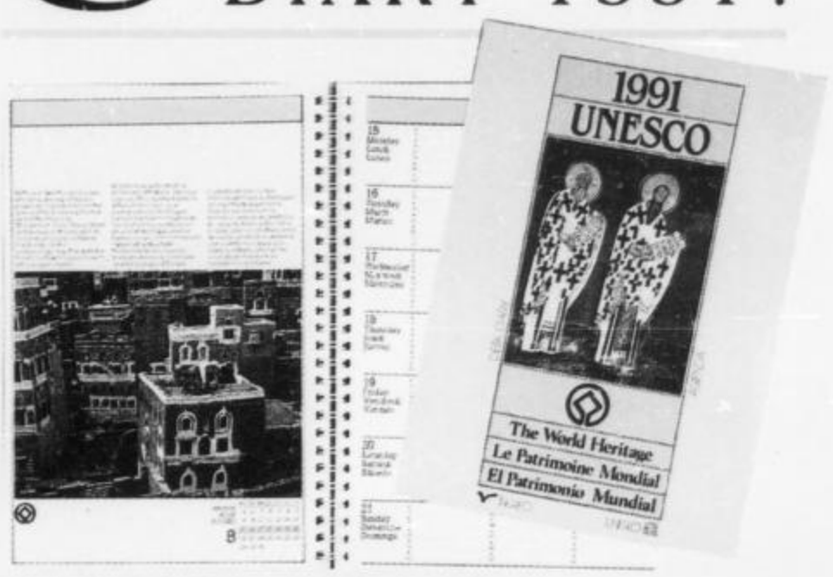

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BACK ISSUES

N°8906
1789 : An idea that changed the world

N°8907
The family past and present

N°8908
Streetscapes

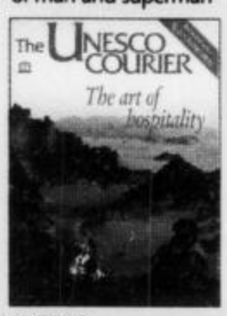
N°8909
Great Epics : tales of man and superman

N°8910
Strangers on the screen

N°8911
A mathematical mystery tour

N°8912
High days and holidays

N°9001
The fortunes of money



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The art of hospitality

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In pursuit of the past : history and memory

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N°9006
Winds of freedom

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Pedal power

More people depend on the bicycle for private transportation than on any other vehicle, according to a study by the Worldwatch Institute, a research organization based in Washington, D.C. The world's 800 million bicycles outnumber cars by 2 to 1, and with an annual production rate 3 times that of cars, the gap is sure to widen. Bicycle-friendly countries include China, where city workers are paid an allowance for commuting by bike; Japan, whose government funds cycle parking facilities at stations; and the Netherlands, which aims to keep uninterrupted cycle routes despite the high density of automobile traffic.

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Cabbage and cancer

Scientists have suspected for years that a wide variety of fruits and vegetables may help the body fight cancer. It is known, for example, that members of ethnic groups who consume large quantities of garlic, onions and leeks have lower stomach cancer rates. The journal of the American National Cancer Institute recently reported that a chemical has been identified in vegetables such as cabbage, broccoli, Brussels sprouts and cauliflower which appears to reduce the risk of breast cancer by speeding up the process by which the body metabolizes the female hormone oestrogen.

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Seeing is believing

A Japanese company has developed an artificial retina capable of responding to light and converting the stimuli into electrical impulses, just as the light-sensitive cells in the eyeball transmit signals to the brain, although it cannot differentiate between colours. Initial applications are likely to be in the profitable fields of optics, video and electronics.

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European art in Japan

A new gallery being planned in Japan will display copies of some 2,000 masterpieces of European painting, from the Renaissance to the 20th century. Exhibits will include copies of works by Raphael, Caravaggio, Renoir, Modigliani and Matisse.

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Saving the African heritage

The Rome-based International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) has launched a 10-year training programme for African museum staff to help preserve ceremonial masks, handmade fabrics, carvings and other artefacts from the ravages of time, insects, humidity and neglect. The programme is budgeted to cost $7 million, $1.6 million of which have already been raised from a number of sources, notably Unesco.

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New archaeological dating technique

A team of French and American researchers recently published an article in the British scientific journal *Nature* which has important implications for archaeological and palaeontological dating. A new technique of measuring uranium and thorium by mass spectrometry reveals that carbon-14 dating is unreliable for dating fossils more than 9,000 years old. According to this technique, the cave paintings at Lascaux (France), dated at 16,000 years by carbon-14 tests, are actually 4,000 years older; and the last period of maximum glaciation, previously dated to 18,000 years ago, occurred 21,500 years ago.

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Getting the best out of waste

New York (26,000 tonnes per day), Tokyo (18,600 tonnes per day) and other cities all over the world are grappling with the problem of processing a rising tide of household refuse. Japan has used rubbish dumped in Tokyo Bay for the construction of Haneda airport on land partly reclaimed from the sea, and for the creation of an artificial island which has been turned into a leisure park. A second artificial "island of dreams" (Yumenoshima), is being built in the same way on a 200-hectare site surrounded by a dike 12 km long and 20 m wide, capable of resisting cyclones and earthquakes. The site should be filled with noncombustible materials by 1996.

In a residential suburb of Chicago, USA, a 9-hole golf course has been created on hilly ground formed by another huge dump.

Run by Waste Management Inc., a leading American waste-disposal corporation, the dump also produces methane gas which supplies 9,500 households with electricity. This gas reserve, expected to last 30 years, will still be exploitable long after the dump is closed.

●●●

Medicine for catastrophe

A number of systems for providing medical treatment after major disasters were presented at an international medical technology exhibition held in Paris last May. One of them was a prototype machine which purifies water by thermocompression. The machine still has several drawbacks: 6 cubic metres of polluted water are required to produce 1.5 cubic metres of clean water, at a temperature which is far too hot for immediate use. Oxygen, essential for anaesthetics and the revival of disaster victims, can now be produced on the spot at a rate of thousands of litres, by exploding cylinders of chlorate.

One problem that has not yet been solved is how to preserve the "cold chain" to stop vaccines, blood, insulin or heparin, a basic anticoagulant, from deteriorating during transportation or storage.

●●●

Science and ethics

The *New England Journal of Medicine* has decided not to publish articles which describe non-ethical experiments, independently of their scientific value. This is a highly significant decision because of the reputation of this prestigious American weekly. An editorial makes clear that the issue goes far beyond the strictly scientific field. What is at stake is a certain conception of human rights in which knowledge, however far-reaching its scope, is less important than the means by which it is acquired.

A cultural battle

By Mario Vargas Llosa

WITH the fantastic technological progress made over recent decades in the audio-visual media, information has come within the reach of everyone. And this prodigious revolution is one of the fruits of liberty, for it was the free countries—the "open societies", to use Karl Popper's term, that have adopted and encouraged the democratic way of life, tolerance, the rule of law and peaceful coexistence amidst diversity —that were the seed-beds of that individual initiative and industrial competition that gave rise to the extraordinary technological advances thanks to which information is now part of the universal heritage.

Just as a climate of liberty made technological development possible, this development, in turn, has enabled liberty to take root and spread throughout the world. With their ability to illuminate reality, honestly and objectively, the audio-visual media will have a greater contribution to make to the advance of liberty, of the democratic way of life, than any other public power or cultural force.

Ensuring the free flow of information and the right to critical judgement is the first problem a country has to solve before it can provide a satisfactory solution to any of its other problems. This is no exaggeration; it is a lesson that has been learned from historical experience. Freedom of information and the right to dissent are more than essential principles; they are a practical necessity for societies that really want to move ahead and are constantly attempting to overcome their weaknesses.

The only way in which a society can avoid, not making mistakes, but persisting in error is by subjecting its actions constantly to the test of the free circulation of information and of critical assessment. For a Latin American this is a self-evident fact. The history of Latin American countries is rich in examples of the way in which the best of intentions can have the most catastrophic results and of how proposed solutions based on sentimental attitudes, ideological principles or abstract concepts, entirely divorced from practical experience, can give rise to measures that are counter-productive in both economic and social terms.

The 'litmus test' of critical appraisal

We have seen how populist regimes, regimes with strong social motivation and regimes bent on reform have aggravated poverty and increased unemployment and even fanned the flames of violence and social conflict simply because the models they attempted to apply had not, as they were being drawn up, been subjected to the "litmus test" of critical appraisal, to the yardstick of reality, to direct examination by those who stood to benefit or suffer from them rather than by their instigators.

Respect for freedom of information and the right to critical appraisal should, therefore, head the list of reforms of any government that desires effectively to improve and modernize society and remedy its defects.

Practically speaking, however, what is meant by freedom of expression and the right to make critical judgements?

We all know instinctively when this freedom exists, when it has disappeared or when it survives only in a symbolic or perverted form. Nevertheless, I shall offer a definition which, I feel, sums up what we all know and feel on this subject.

It might be said that a society enjoys freedom of expression when,

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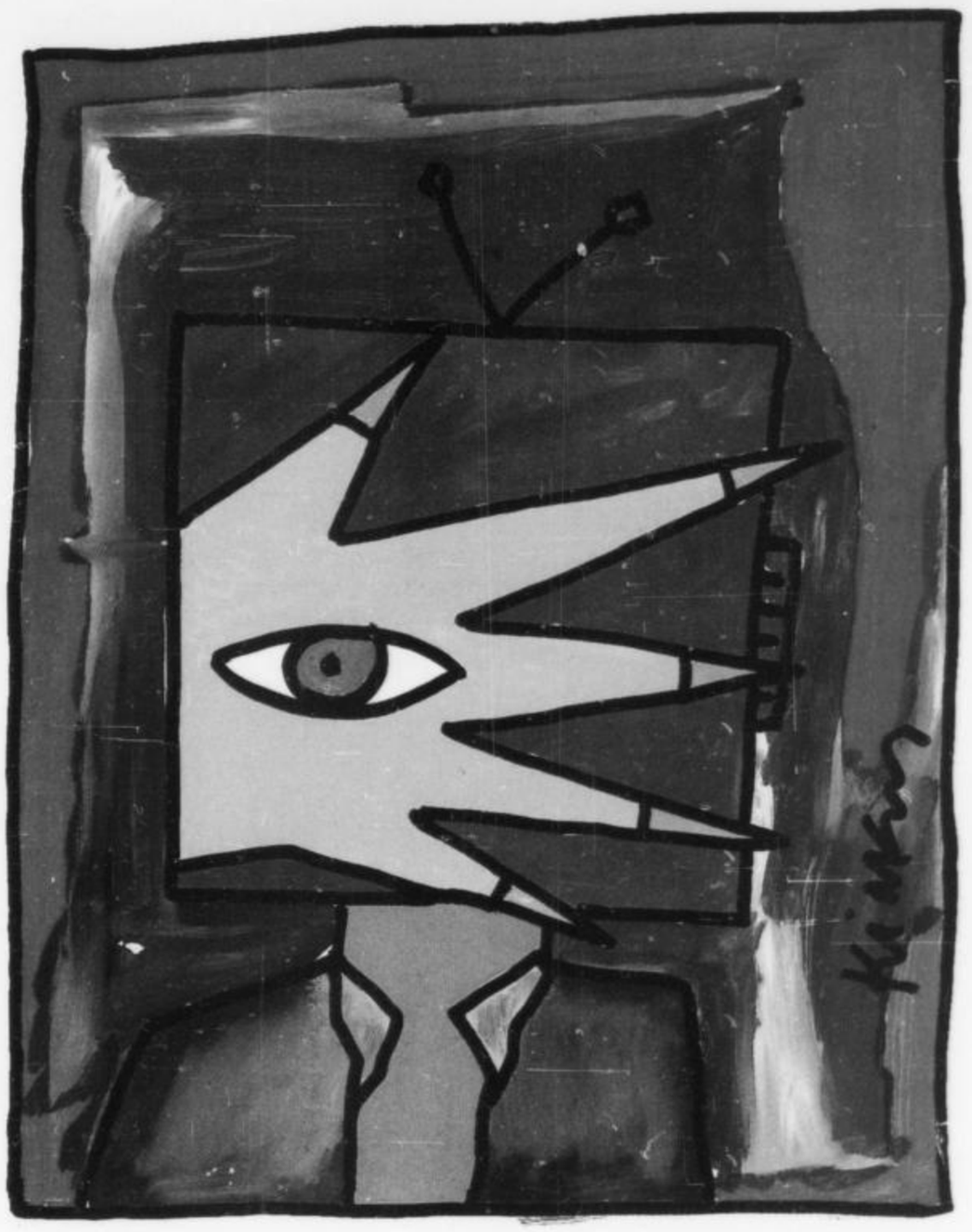
MARIO VARGAS LLOSA, of Peru, is widely regarded as one of Latin America's most outstanding novelists. Among his recent works translated into English are *The War of the End of the World* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 1984/Faber & Faber, London, 1986), and *Who Killed Palomino Molero?* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1987/Faber & Faber, 1988). This article has been extracted from a lecture given at an International Association of Broadcasting conference held in Rio de Janeiro in December 1988.

through the various means of communication, its citizens are able to criticize the powers-that-be—not only the political powers, but also the economic, military and ecclesiastical powers, as well as the representatives of various social institutions such as trade unions and, of course, the information media themselves.

The free flow of information and the right to critical judgement, exercised through the media, are the most effective way of blocking the predisposition to grow and to persist unimpeded that is inherent in all power blocs.

This being so, the view is often expressed, in all good faith, that if the media are in private hands, they will necessarily defend the interests and express the opinions only of those powerful enough to acquire them. And there is indeed an element of danger of this happening, which must be countered. But if to avoid this danger the media are placed under the control of the state, this is like treating an illness with a cure that kills the patient.

While it is true that nothing can be done to counter the rigid censorship that results from state control, there are a number of measures that can be taken to avoid the risks and perils involved in private ownership of the media. Therein lies all the difference.



The conquest of the market

The system of a free press based on private enterprise is the only one so far that has been able to guarantee true freedom of information and a real right to criticize, but we cannot ignore the fact that this system too involves a number of dangers. The first of these is that the choice of programmes and their content (for radio and television) and of articles (for newspapers) is based solely on such practical considerations as maximizing profit and market share.

If the purely commercial criterion of market domination is uppermost, the inevitable result will be a lowering of the quality of the media and a cheapened, popular presentation of news that can be taken to extremes that threaten culture. The mediocrity to which the press, radio or television can descend, when motivated solely by a desire to dominate the market and to displace commercial rivals, may well have tragic consequences in the long term for both the cultural and democratic bases of a society.

This is a well-known phenomenon, but it is not, as some have claimed, confined to poor countries or to countries in which culture is a privilege reserved for an élite. Cheapened, popular presentation of information is also to be found in the most economically and democratically advanced countries.

With their solid cultural background, however, the developed countries are able to face up to this danger. France and the United Kingdom, for example, have sufficient safeguards to ensure that the press and the audio-visual media that serve their readers, listeners and viewers a daily diet of scandal, do not destroy the fabric of society or undermine its democratic foundations. In countries such as those of Latin America, however, the cultural landscape is still fragile and is characterized by great disparities and inequalities. If the media, in particular the audio-visual media (which today may provide 90 per cent, even at times 100 per cent of a society's cultural nourishment), do not pursue responsible policies, and if they do not place certain criteria, certain minimum cultural and ethical standards above their short-term commercial interests, democracy will indeed be put at very grave risk.

Nothing is so destabilizing for a society as the systematic distortion of reality that is the hallmark of the sensationalist media. It is vital that those in charge of radio and television stations and of newspapers recognize that the products and services they provide are not in any way comparable to those offered by other commercial and industrial undertakings.

The products and services they offer are of much greater consequence and importance than mere "consumer goods". They influence behaviour and have an effect on all the consumer's other activities. They may sharpen or blunt certain sensibilities, stimulate or completely inhibit the imagination and the critical faculties. They may draw attention to real problems, but they may also turn the spotlight on false or non-existent problems and thus distract attention from really crucial questions.

It is essential, therefore, that the heads of media undertakings, upon whom rests responsibility for maintaining freedom of information, should fulfil their functions with ethical and political considerations in mind, rather than in an exclusively commercial spirit. This is the only way to ensure the development of a democratic culture.

Public opinion and information

Another danger to be faced is that of the media being used to serve a single centre of power, such as, for example, an economic power bloc. A democratic society can defend itself against this danger by eliminating monopolies, tied payments and privileges and maintaining an open, competitive system. If this system remains open to the forces of competition, the danger of the media becoming totally subordinate to an economic power bloc is virtually eliminated.

This, however, depends largely upon the determination with which the authorities in an open society ensure the existence of a truly open and competitive market. It also, of course, depends greatly upon the power of public opinion.

The opinion of a democratic, aware and critical public is the best defence and protection available to the media in a free society against the danger of becoming the creatures of a single centre of power and in particular of the economic power bloc. In Latin America, however, societies are not strong enough to overcome the risk of reality being distorted or of opinion becoming confused with news.

It is essential, therefore, for these societies not only to ensure the technical and economic success of their media enterprises, but also to make certain that their democratic and cultural balance-sheets are healthy.

At a time when the countries of Latin America are struggling to nurture culture and liberty, the media, themselves a product of that culture, must play their part in ensuring that culture and liberty, having made a timid appearance on the scene, do not, as has so often happened before in the history of the continent, disappear once more.

A great weight of responsibility lies with those who form the driving force behind the media. All those among us who are the direct beneficiaries of culture and liberty and who, thanks to that liberty, are able freely to express their opinions in the newspapers, on radio and television, as well as those who are in a position to make decisions about telecommunications, must become fully aware of what a great privilege freedom is—economic freedom, political freedom and freedom of the press.

This is a vital battle that we must not lose. If we lose it, we shall also have lost a future of civilization and freedom. If we emerge victorious, we shall have turned our backs on a past of decadence, impoverishment, social injustice and violence, none of which, objectively speaking, has any reason to exist in Latin America. ■

Rethinking scientific progress

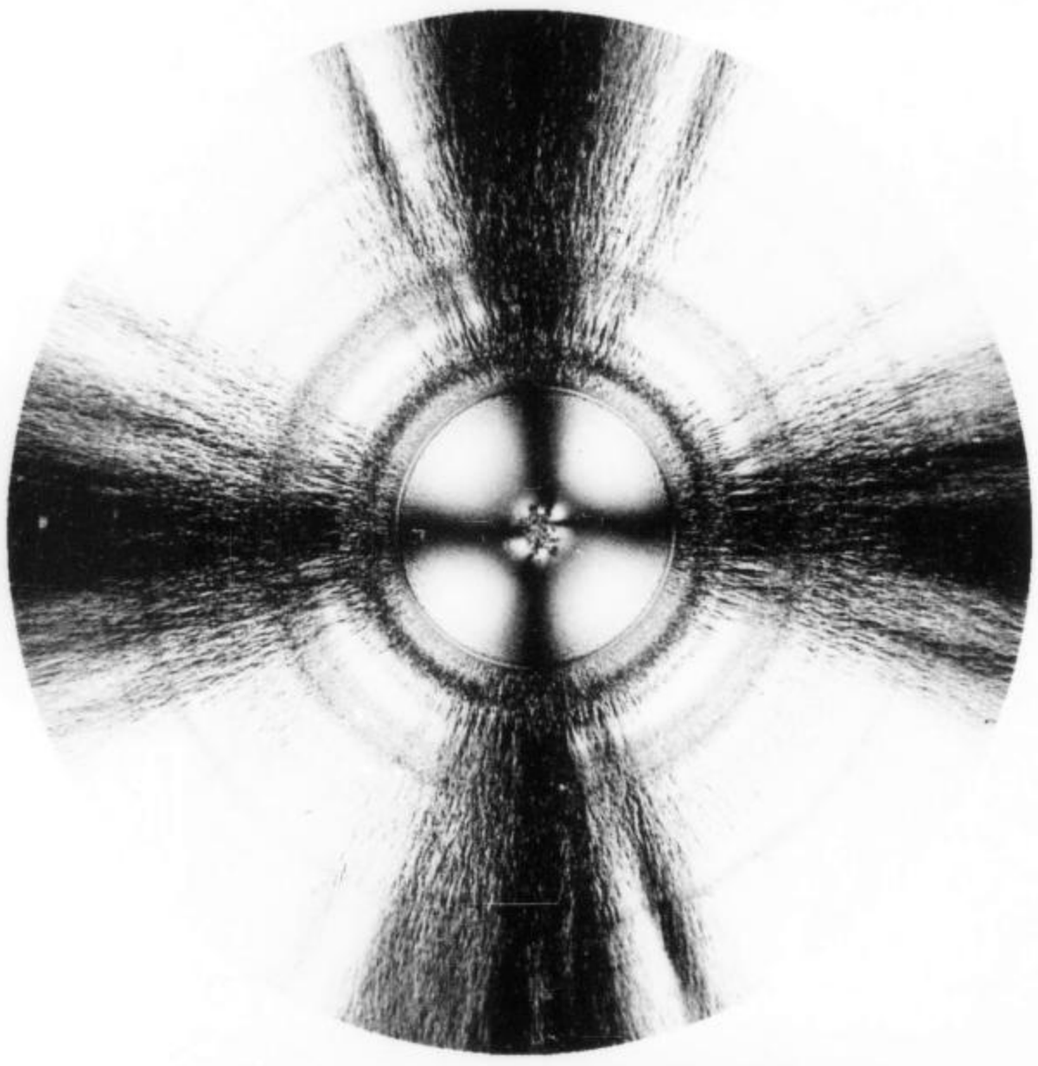
By Marc Chapdelaine and Jacques Richardson

As our turbulent century draws to its close, marking a thousand years of spectacular growth in knowledge, a new sensitivity about the state of mankind can be discerned. This shift in our cultural "temperature" results, in part, from a realization that technological change—while greatly improving nutrition and health, for instance—can harm the physical nature of our world.

As part of its vocations in the fields of information and culture, Unesco organizes, every few years, meetings of concentrated reflection on societal issues affected by progress in science and technology. In 1986, some twenty-five specialists met in Venice to contemplate "Science and the Boundaries of Knowledge".[1] Another two dozen experts from all over the world met late last year in Vancouver, Canada, to ponder the theme "Science and Culture for the 21st Century: Agenda for Survival". The choice of the word "survival" may be intimidating, but an eminent ecologist from Quebec present in Vancouver, Pierre Dansereau, admitted that "it is scientists who are part of the problem".

When our century began, scientific research was still a disparate effort on the part of dedicated individuals and practical inventors—not working in teams, yet motivated by an intense desire to learn all about nature and the universe beyond.

Today, stressed Moroccan educator Mahdi Elmandjra at Vancouver, our "learning processes and mental structures" are relatively unchanged, but there is a need for "greater foresight and much more balanced cultural communication".



Above, crystals of vitamin C (ascorbic acid) photographed with a polarized microscope.
Below,
the Harz forest in Germany, damaged by acid rain.

Italian historian and philosopher Nicola Dallaporta interpreted inequalities between North and South as "breaks or violations of the symmetries" that long existed among the world's civilizations. These disruptions, she claimed, "create the practically unlimited capacity of the world to express in the most delicately shaded ways" mankind's countless thoughts and ideas.

Supporting this line of reasoning, Yujiro Nakamura of Meiji University in Tokyo noted what he called "cultural negativity". He explained: "Contact between different peoples and nations has not brought mutual respect, but often violent opposition.... A culture should not impose its rhythm on other cultures."

But asymmetry and negative reactions can be corrected by what we learn from nature, according to Daniel A. Akyeampong, a mathematical physicist from Ghana. "At each stage in the development of science, the new concepts arising have influenced man in his understanding and appreciation of his culture." Recalling the rigour of investigation in the natural sciences, he asked, "Can nature's inherent symmetry find pride of place in our social and cultural values?"

Such consciousness has pervaded the work undertaken by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Academician Josef Riman, a geneticist from Czechoslovakia, noted that non-governmental organizations also play a role in reconciling scientific progress with human needs, citing the example of the newly developed Global Change

The Vancouver Declaration

SURVIVAL of the planet has become of central and immediate concern. The present situation requires urgent measures in all sectors—scientific, cultural, economic and political, and a greater sensitization of all mankind. We must make common cause with all people on Earth against a common enemy: any action that threatens balance within our environment or reduces our legacy to future generations. Today, this becomes the objective of the Vancouver Declaration on Survival.

Mankind confronting survival

Our planet is unstable—a constantly changing heat engine. Life appeared on its surface about four billion years ago, and developed in balance with an environment where sudden unpredictable change is the norm. The discovery, over 200 years ago, of free energy locked in fossil fuels has given humankind the power to dominate the whole planetary surface. In an unbelievably short span of time, unplanned and almost mindlessly, our species has become by far the largest factor for change on the planet.

The consequences have been drastic and unique in the history of our species:

- an accelerating increase in population growth over the past 150 years from one billion to over five billion with a current doubling time of 30 to 40 years;
- a comparable increase in the use of fossil fuels leading to global pollution, climate and sea-level change;
- an accelerating destruction of the habitat of life, initiating a massive and irreversible episode of mass extinction in the biosphere—the basis of the Earth's ecosystem;
- an unimaginable expenditure of resources and human ingenuity on war and preparation for war.

This is all licensed by a belief in the inexhaustible resources of the planet encouraged by political and economic systems that emphasize short term profit and disregard the real cost of production.

The situation facing mankind involves the collapse of any balance between our species and the rest of life on the planet. Paradoxically, at the time when we stand at the threshold of degeneration of the ecosystem and degradation of the quality of life, knowledge and science are now in a position to provide both the human creativity and the technology needed to take remedial action and to rediscover the harmony between nature and mankind. Only the social and political will is lacking.

The origins of the problem

The origin of our present predicament lies fundamentally in certain developments in science that were essentially complete by the beginning of the century. Those developments... gave human beings a power over nature that has, until recently, produced an ever-increasing, and seemingly boundless, supply of material commodities. Swept up in the exploitation of this power, humankind has tended to shift its values to those promoting the maximal realization of the material possibilities that this new power provides. The values associated with dimensions of the human potential that had been the foundations of earlier cultures were correspondingly suppressed. The impoverishment of the conception of man caused by this omission of other human dimensions is precisely in line with the "scientific" conception of the universe as machine, and of man as nothing but a cog within it....

However, scientific advances of the present century have shown this mechanical view of the universe to be untenable on purely scientific grounds. Thus the rational basis for the mechanical conception of man has been invalidated.

Alternative visions

In contemporary science, the older rigid mechanical picture of the universe is replaced by concepts that permit a universe that is formed by a continual creative input that is not constrained by any mechanical law. Man himself becomes an aspect of this creative impulse.... The "self" becomes thereby converted from a deterministically controlled cog in a giant machine to an aspect of a free creative impulse that is intrinsically and immediately tied to the universe as a whole....

The human species has reached limits in its use of the external world and also limits in its capacity to live in a changing social and cultural environment. Man's developing perceptions in science suggest that he might recapture lost beliefs and varieties of spiritual experience. The present critical situation in mankind's occupancy of the planet requires new visions, rooted in a variety of cultures, in contemplating the future:

- The perception of an organic macrocosm that recaptures the rhythms of life would allow man to reintegrate himself with nature and understand his relationship in space and time to all life and the physical world.
- Recognition that a human being is an aspect of the creative process that gives form to the universe, enlarges man's image of himself and allows him to transcend the egoism that is the principal cause of disharmony among his fellows and between mankind and nature.
- The overcoming of fragmentation of the body-mind-spirit unity, brought about by unbalanced emphasis on any one over the others, allows man to discover within himself the reflection of cosmos and its supreme unifying principle.

Such visions change the conception of man in nature and call for a radical transformation of models of development; the elimination of poverty, ignorance and misery; the end of the arms race; introduction of new learning processes, educational systems and mental attitudes; implementation of better forms of redistribution to ensure social equity; a new design for living based on a reduction of waste; respect for biodiversity, socio-economic diversity,and cultural diversity that transcends outmoded concepts of sovereignty....

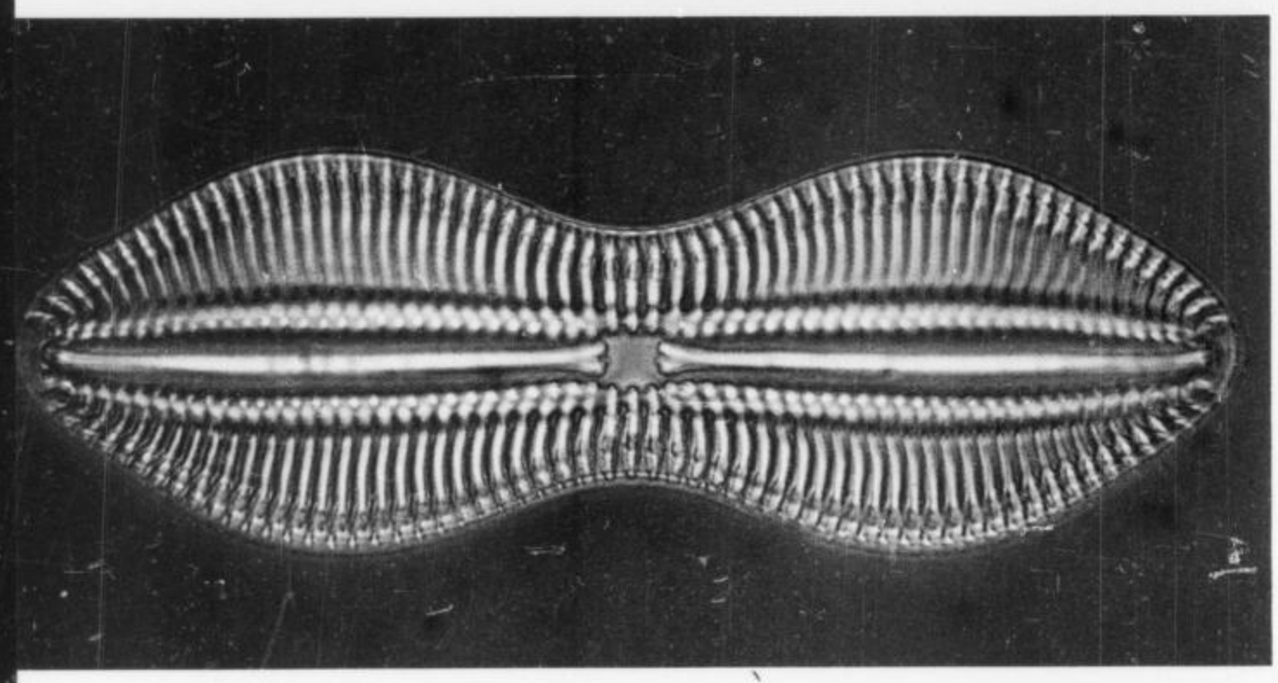
Time is short—every delay in establishing a world eco-cultural peace will only increase the cost of survival.

We must recognize the reality of a multi-religious world and the need for the kind of tolerance that will enable religions, whatever their differences, to co-operate together. This would contribute to meeting the requirements for human survival and for the nurturing of the shared core values of human solidarity, human rights and human dignity. This is the common heritage of mankind that derives from our perception of the transcendental significance of human existence, and from a new global conscience. ■

September 1989

Signatories to the Declaration

- Professor Daniel Afedzi Akyeampong (Ghana), president, Mathematical Association of Ghana
- Professor Ubiritan d'Ambrosio (Brazil), professor of mathematics and pro-rector for university development, State University of Campinas
- Mr. André Chouraqui (Israel), author, religious studies
- Professor Nicola Dallaporta (Italy), emeritus professor, International School for Advanced Studies, Trieste
- Mr. Pierre Dansereau (Canada), ecologist, emeritus professor, University of Quebec, Montreal
- Dr. Mahdi Elmandjra (Morocco), former assistant director-general of Unesco, president of Futuribles International
- Dr. Santiago Genovès (Mexico), titular research professor of anthropology, University of Mexico
- Professor Carl-Göran Heden (Sweden), president, World Academy of Arts and Science
- Dr. Alexander King (United Kingdom), president, Club of Rome
- Mrs. Eleonora Barbieri Masini (Italy), president, World Futures Studies Federation
- Dr. Digby McLaren (Canada), president, Royal Society of Canada
- Professor Yujiro Nakamura (Japan), philosopher, author and professor at Meiji University
- Mr. Lisandro Otero (Cuba), author
- Mr. Michel Random (France), writer, publisher
- Professor Josef Riman (Czechoslovakia), president, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences
- Professor Soedjatmoko (Indonesia), former rector, United Nations University
- Professor Henry Stapp (United States of America), physicist, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley



A diatom seen through the microscope. These tiny algae form the main element of marine plankton.

programme of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU).

ICSU, representing about a million scientists throughout the world, is closely associated with Unesco. Its Global Change scheme (known as the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme) seeks to achieve during the coming decade better understanding of physical and chemical relations in our planet's subsystems. Riman added that a comparable approach "would be desirable in the complex study of man for a better understanding of emotional and rational behaviour."

Sweden's Carl-Goran Heden, an eminent microbiologist, strongly supported initiatives by such non-governmental bodies and pointed to the success of a group in his country called IDEA (Innovations for Development Association), which periodically awards prizes for achievements in the management of farming, forestry, fisheries, energy and water resources.

The former rector of the United Nations University, Indonesia's Professor Soedjatmoko, claimed that scientific progress in coming generations requires that mankind "make adjustments in systems and processes of governance". He foresaw philosophical shifts amounting to "change that may be a precondition for human survival, posing challenges to societies and individuals that are essentially ethical".

Eleonora Barbieri Masini of Italy, who is president of the World Futures Studies Federation, cautioned that we should think of the future in terms of "alternative scenarios". She believes that a "scenario of transition" will be "sure in any case to take place because of long-term trends in population structures" in both developing and industrialized countries.

Israeli linguist André Chouraqui believes that shifts in population distribution and a new vision of humanity will evoke new approaches to communication between peoples. He recalled that it was once rare for people to speak two or more languages. Only in the recent past has this language barrier become less common, but Professor Chouraqui insisted that at the basis of the cultural-religious conflict between the Islamic and Hebraic worlds, for example, "lies a linguistic problem that should be confronted as we move towards the twenty-first century".

In appraising the contributions of science and culture to our well-being (if not outright survival) in the next century, perhaps the last word should come from a professional communicator, Bernard Ostry, chairman and chief executive officer of TV Ontario. Unable to attend the symposium, he presented a paper in which he emphasized that there is a link between culture and communication just as "there is between economy and communication". Proper use of television must take account of the need for a shared culture, rather than "imposing cultural uniformity. Without diversity of culture, there can be no true intellectual and spiritual freedom", now or in the future.

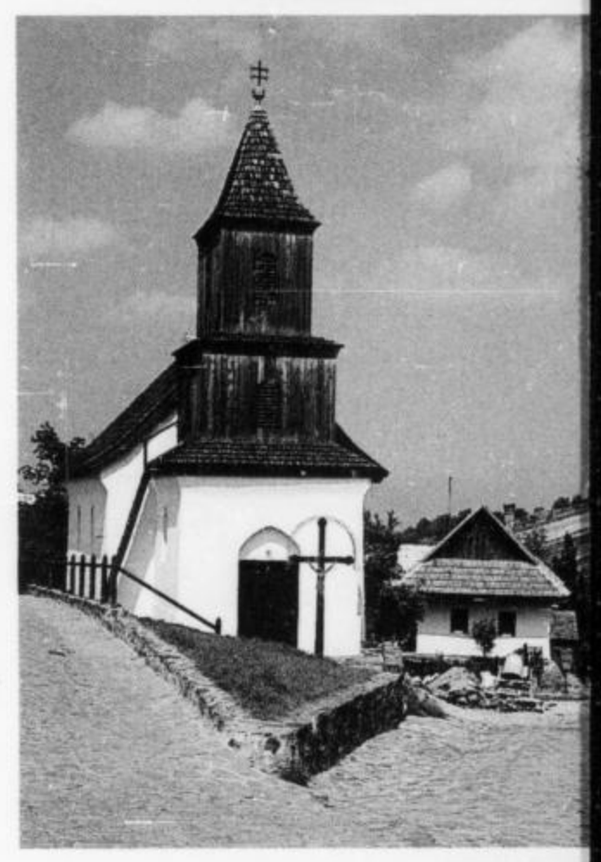
The Vancouver Declaration (see page 47) was drafted at the end of the symposium. Unesco plans to follow up the Venice and Vancouver meetings at a session to be held in Latin America in 1993. ■

1. Jacques Richardson commented on this symposium in *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* (Great Thoughts by the Grand Canal), Vol. 12, 1987.

MARC CHAPDELAINE
is director of Unesco's Science and Technology Policies division.

JACQUES RICHARDSON
was editor of Unesco's international quarterly journal *Impact of Science on Society* from 1972 to 1985.

Holloko in Hungary is the only village on Unesco's World Heritage List



A village in the hills

By Édouard Bailby

THE road wound its way through wooded hills or between copses, with now and then a glimpse of a few sleepy cows. I was driving in northern Hungary, looking for a village. Tucked away at the end of a road, it rarely appears on maps and the signposts along the road are somewhat erratic. At each fork I hesitated: left or right?

Yet Holloko is no ordinary place. Since 1987 it has been the only village in the world inscribed on Unesco's World Heritage List. Situated in the Cserhát mountains, some hundred kilometres north-west of Budapest, it is still a backwater as far as large-scale tourism is concerned.

Suddenly, through the foliage of the trees lining the road, I caught sight of a green sign and on it, in white lettering, there at long last was the name of the village. A few hundred metres further on, at the crest of a slope, I came across the first houses and was beset by doubt. These were sturdy modern buildings, surrounded by gardens, of the kind which has been springing up in the Hungarian countryside over the past few years. Could Holloko be a tourist trap, with a pile of stones passed off as a historic ruin?

Before long I came across a sign bearing the World Heritage emblem. Then, all at once, the look of the place changed. The real village sprang into view. As though in a fairy tale, cottages as white as wedding gowns, each with a wooden balcony, appeared along the main street. This street of uneven cobblestones is named after Sándor Petöfi, the great Hungarian revolutionary poet who died in 1849. With rare exceptions, cars are not permitted here.

Unlike other Hungarian villages, which are centred on a church, this ancient village in the Cserhát mountains leads to a tiny and charming whitewashed chapel dating from the fifteenth century. With its pointed, slate-covered steeple, it is the last vestige of the Middle Ages. Inside, there is no baroque ornamentation, just plain whitewashed walls and a wooden ceiling. To the right of the entrance hangs a crucifix by Ferenc Kelemen, a local sculptor. On feast days, old villagers still attend mass in traditional costume.

No more than a hundred people live in the old village. Dressed in typical Hungarian peasant fashion in black trousers or gaily coloured skirts, they go about their business, some bearing pitchforks, others carrying baskets of vegetables. On the nearby hills are a few vines, vegetable gardens, fields of maize and sunflowers. Sheep graze in the meadows. The farmland is divided into small plots. I did not see a tractor. The bucolic landscape adds to the charm of the village.

The neat rows of immaculate houses, façades embellished with finely carved wooden balustrades, surmounted by tiled roofs with tiny square windows set in them, are built in a uniform style characteristic of the architecture of northern Hungary. Their patches of garden, filled with summer flowers, are enclosed by low fences. Often, above the front door, there hangs a horseshoe, a garland of red paprikas, a cob of maize or a holy picture.

The village museum, situated in an old house converted for the purpose, is a perfect reconstruction of a traditional interior. The front door leads straight into the main living room, furnished with a dining table and benches decked out in embroidered covers. The kitchen is at the back and to the left is the bedroom in which parents and children all slept. A pair of boots is suspended from the ceiling to stop mice from nesting in them during the night. An adjoining room houses the loom on which the women embroidered tablecloths, head-dresses and cushions. To the right of the living room is a more spacious room, reserved for the grandparents, where farm implements, firewood and provisions for the harsh winter months are stacked up in a corner. Porcelain or pewter plates, generally hanging from the walls, gaily coloured blankets, red and green cushions, and hand-decorated earthenware vases brighten the place up.

All the houses in Holloko date from the beginning of the century. Unfortunately, nothing remains from earlier periods. The wooden houses have been reduced to ashes in successive fires. Mongol hordes laid waste this area in the mid-thirteenth century, and in the sixteenth the village was sacked by Turkish troops, who left a garrison of sixty men in a fortress which towers over the neighbourhood. The ruins, accessible by a steep path, are in such a state of disrepair that they have been closed to visitors for the past seventeen years. But the fortress, which is indissociable from the history of Holloko, is now being restored and will soon regain its former splendour.

"Now that we are part of the Unesco heritage," a village woman told me, "we are no longer anxious about our future." The entire village is the focus of attention from both local and regional authorities. Since last year it has even had its own post office, and it also boasts a grocery store, a primary school, an old people's home and three small café-restaurants, which are open until late in the evening.

To lovers of the past, the local tourist office rents out at a modest price a few charming cottages equipped with modern amenities. The number of these dwellings is limited so as not to alter the life of the village. In the summer season, romantics can hold weddings and country dances here, for which the village women will deck themselves out in all their finery.

"I was born to make people happy," says Ferenc Kelemen. Born at Holloko in 1927, he has worked with wood since his childhood and carves allegorical figures, birds, forest animals and groups of young peasant girls. There are piles of his sculptures in the pretty little cottage where he lives. He was eager to show us a photograph of one of his masterpieces, purchased, as he proudly explained, by the wife of a French prime minister.

Ferenc Kelemen is a voluble man who likes to repeat without any false modesty that he "has no regrets about having been born with talent". His fame has long ago travelled beyond the wooden fences of his native village. ■

ÉDOUARD BAILBY,
French journalist and former correspondent with the Paris weekly magazine *L'Express*, served for a number of years as press officer with Unesco's Office of Public Information.

Letters to the Editor

Traditions for Tomorrow

In your July 1990 issue on illiteracy you mention an organization called Traditions for Tomorrow which is helping local communities in Latin America to safeguard their cultural identity. I am very interested in this kind of initiative, which allows marginalized populations to draw on their past in order to face their future. I would like to contact this organization to offer my support.

Christine Illouz
Paris

The organization's address is Traditions for Tomorrow, P.O. Box 5835, J.F. Kennedy Station, Boston, Massachusetts 02114. Editor

Freedom to smoke

Will it soon be forbidden to smoke... even on a stamp?

I wish to reply to the letter from a Danish reader published in the July issue of the *Courier*. The letter criticizes the reproduction on your letters page of a postage stamp showing a woman smoking a cigarette. I am directly concerned because I am the unfortunate person who sent you the stamp!

I ask you not to replace this stamp. First, out of respect for the woman pictured on it, Bodil Ipsen, one of the most famous actresses of the Danish cinema. She is still so well-known that this year, the centenary of her birth, a set of records has been issued on which she reads stories by such Danish writers as Karen Blixen.

I also make this request out of respect for the freedom of the individual, which is cherished by the friends of Unesco. It is quite possible to smoke without annoying other people. As far as I know there are places set aside for non-smokers almost everywhere. Why do the latter want to bully smokers and impose their own tastes on them? May I say in passing that I am myself a non-smoker!

The consequence of this kind of censorship will be endless. Pictures of people smoking will have to be withdrawn from all the world's museums and, at the request of certain religious sects, you will have to abstain from publishing photographs of bare-headed women.

I take this apparently innocuous matter very seriously indeed.

Frederic Parrot di Giusto
Viby J. (Denmark)

One cigarette = 5 rem

While visiting the French nuclear studies centre at Saclay I saw a notice giving figures for the radiation emitted by different objects or elements. Two figures caught my attention: an X-ray emits 50 rem; a cigarette, 5 rem.* While there have been attempts to make people afraid of radiation by X-rays, practically no thought has been given to that produced by cigarettes. A twenty-a-day smoker will receive a radiation dosage equivalent to two X-rays! If this information was printed on all cigarette packets and repeated every day on radio and television, there would surely be fewer cases of cancer caused by smoking.

Eugénie Guichard
Saint-Michel-Sur-Orge
(France)

** The rem ("Roentgen equivalent man") is a unit of radiation dosage.*

A tree by any other name

The trees shown in the photograph on page 43 of your May 1990 issue are probably baobabs, as described, but I don't believe they belong to the *Adansonia digitata* species. They are probably a related species of *Adansonia* which occurs mainly in Madagascar.

What a pity that the common names of the trees mentioned in the article which this photograph illustrates were not accompanied by their Latin names. This would have made the article more comprehensible to botanists, ecologists and foresters.

Michel Baumer
International Council for Research in Agroforestry
Nairobi (Kenya)

Further reading?

You used to publish bibliographies which allowed readers to find out more about subjects that interested them. Why have you stopped doing this? Wouldn't it be possible to revive the tradition?

Gilles Mercier
Poitiers (France)

The publication of bibliographies in 35 language editions poses problems. Some editions are not interested in lists of books in French and English, and cannot always compile a bibliography of their own. We are nevertheless concerned about the question you raise and are seeking a solution. Editor

Nuclear power in the Crimea

I am a student. I love our planet and am deeply concerned about the future of my country and the world at large. But most of all I am concerned about the region where I live, the Crimea.

Much harm is being done to our peninsula and the people who live on it. I can't bring myself to be silent about this, if only because of the nuclear plant which is now being constructed and is arousing widespread protest and indignation. This unique site badly needs protection against such developments. I should like to contribute to the defence of the environment. Could you put me in touch with the Greenpeace organization?

Yuri Belski
Sebastopol (USSR)

The address of the Greenpeace Environmental Trust is 30-31 Islington Green, London N1 8XE, England
Editor

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The UNESCO COURIER

43rd YEAR

Published monthly in 34 languages and in braille by Unesco, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

31, rue François Bonvin, 75015 Paris, France.

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Tel.: 45.68.45.65
1 year: 126 French francs. 2 years: 234 FF.
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Developing countries
1 year: 99 French francs. 2 years: 180 FF.
Payment can be made with any convertible currency to the order of Unesco

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IMPRIMÉ EN FRANCE
(Printed in France) - DEPOT LEGAL : C1 - SEPTEMBRE 1990
COMMISSION PARITAIRE Nº 71844 - DIFFUSE PAR LES NMPP
Photocomposition: The *Unesco Courier*
Photogravure-impression: Maury Imprimeur S.A., Z.I. route d'Etampes, 45330 Malesherbes.

ISSN 0041-5278 Nº 9 - 1990 - OPI - 90 - 3 - 484 A

This issue comprises 52 pages and a 4-page advertising insert between pages 10-11 and 42-43

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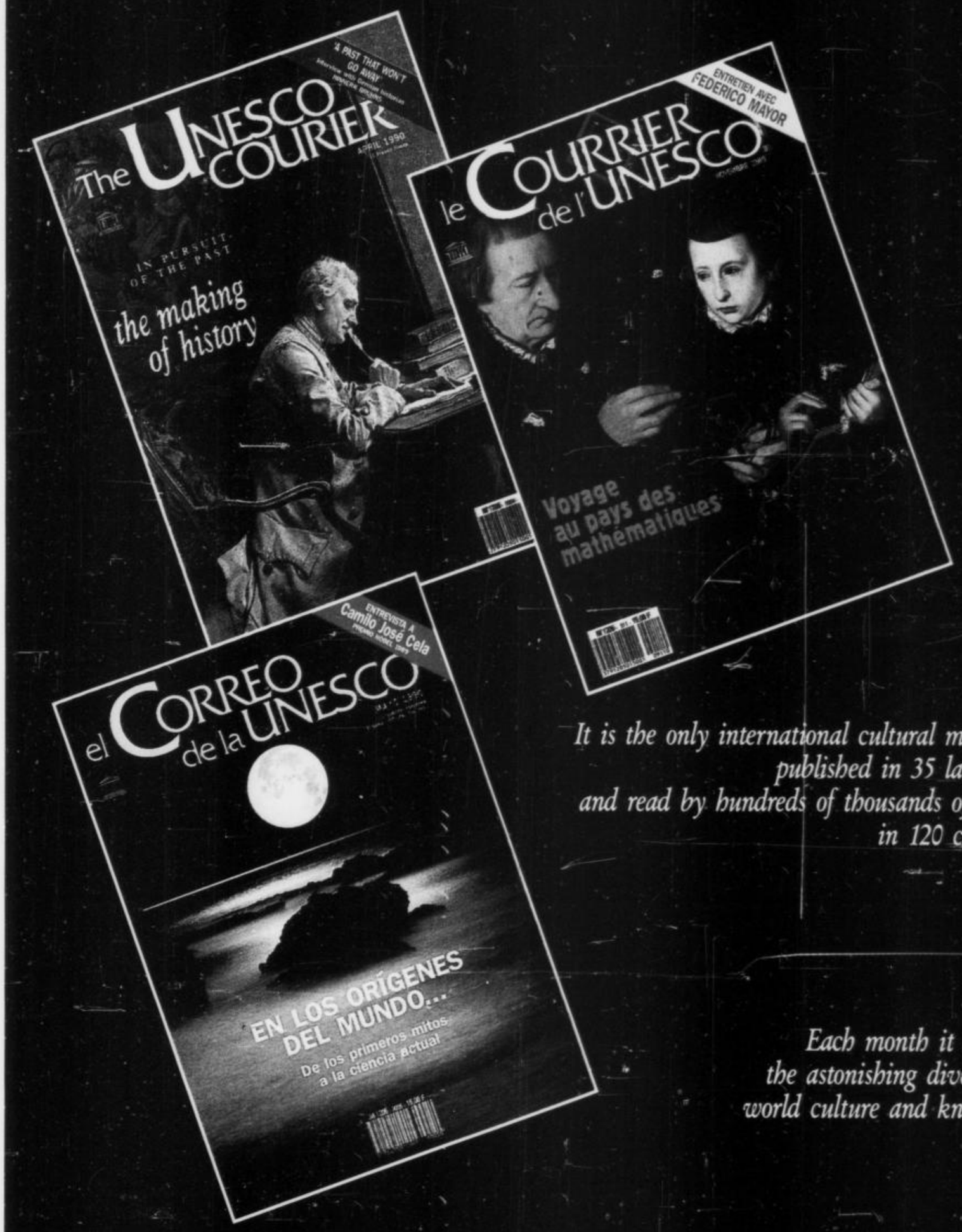
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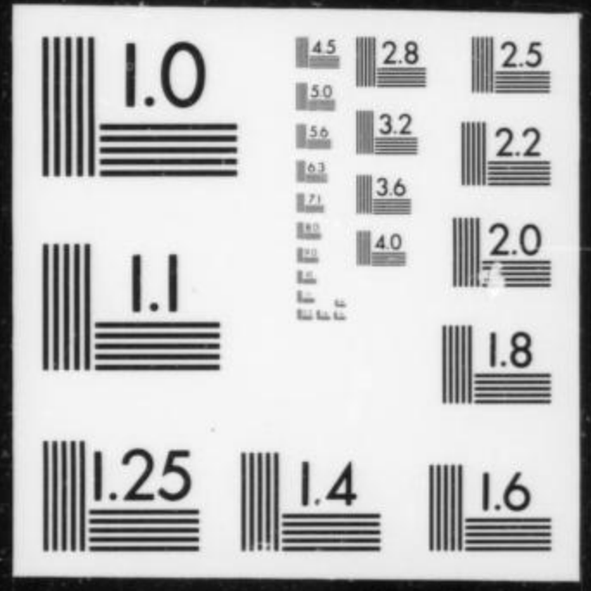
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